

# Sociology and Social Research

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

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# Sociology and Social Research

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# SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

*July-August, 1944*



## INSTITUTIONAL ASPECTS OF WORLD ORGANIZATION

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● The emergence of a particular social institution can best be understood when considered in the light of institutional development as a general social phenomenon. If, as appears probable, we are witnessing the emergence of a new institution which for lack of a better term we call world organization, we may clarify our thinking by considering its development from the standpoint of certain elementary principles.

The first of these is that any institution, like any other aspect of a people's culture, is merely an instrument for satisfying some want or need. It appears only in response to the recognition of a want or need. To understand any institution it is necessary, therefore, first to understand the want or need that gave it birth. Of course, few, if any, institutions are perfect instruments for the accomplishment of their purposes. They all show man's difficulty in shaping adequate means for the ends he has in view. But clumsy and awkward as he is in devising his institutions, they develop only in response to felt wants and needs.

A second elementary consideration to keep in mind is that an institution arises only where there is a considerable degree of consensus. And this consensus must exist with respect both to the need or want and to the means for satisfying it. Without consensus, both as to need and means of satisfying it, there will be no institution.

It is true that consensus is seldom, if ever, complete. Almost never will all the members of a society agree on the nature of a need, and particularly on the best way of satisfying it when the need is generally recognized. The consensus that underlies an institution is a consensus of the controlling section of a society, at least in the beginning. To understand who constitute this controlling section we must know how the society is organized. In so-called democratic societies the majority is supposed to control through the expression of public opinion. Actually, strongly entrenched minorities or pressure groups may be the real controlling elements in these societies. In autocratic societies small minorities rule through the exercise or threat of physical force. But in any case it is necessary only to keep a practice in operation until several generations have been born into it in order to secure a general acceptance or acquiescence on the part of the greater part of the population. The practice initiated and for a time imposed by the controlling minority eventually becomes the habitual institutional behavior of practically the whole population.

A third elemental aspect of institutions has to do with the degree of consciousness that characterizes this establishment. We now are inclined to question the absoluteness of Sumner's distinction between *crescive* and *enacted* institutions. All institutions have some foundations in the unconsciously developed mores, and all are partially the result of conscious, *telic* effort on the part of the controlling element of a society. In the main, the more advanced societies show a larger element of conscious *telic* direction of the development of their institutions. But always the element of the habitual and the unconsciously developed mores is present. The *telic*, enacted elements are grafted onto a base of folkways and mores, whose beginnings lie in the unknown past. As Hertzler has well remarked:

In general, one seems to be safe in contending that the development of institutions is a complex combination of factors, consisting in its rudimentary stages of spontaneous and automatic adjustment presided over by a sort of blind selection and the survival of the fittest elements; later a matter of accumulated experience in the form of trial and error, experiment and knowledge; and, finally, in the higher stages, the result of deliberate creation by a reasoning and consciously acting elite, government, or populace.<sup>1</sup>

We may now undertake to apply these elementary sociological generalizations to the present problems of world organization. The need for world organization that is unquestionably recognized to a considerable degree throughout all advanced, nonfascist societies today is the need for some means of preventing international war. Many individuals are aware of numerous other things to be accomplished through such an organization, but the one need on which the attention of the United Nations is now fixed is freedom from war and the threat of war. It seems clear, therefore, that the institutional features of world organization will, in the beginning at least, be fashioned with that end almost exclusively in view.

For the consensus that is required for the beginnings of such an organization we need not look beyond the United Nations. It seems clear that for a number of years whatever peace the world enjoys will be that which rests upon the arms of the victorious nations. But since two of the dominant members of the United Nations are democratic states, the policies of the world organization must conform with the predominant public opinion of those two countries, the United States and Great Britain. The governments of Russia and China, while undoubtedly reflecting to a considerable degree the desires of their people, may nevertheless go considerably beyond any expressed desire of the citizens. But not so in the case of the governments of the United States and Great Britain. The main

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<sup>1</sup> J. O. Hertzler, *Social Institutions*, p. 110.

features of the organization must meet the approval of the prevailing public opinion in those states. Undoubtedly, the governments of Russia and China and the public opinion of the United States and Great Britain must together bear the responsibility of laying the foundations of world organization.

But if ever a world organization comes to be anything more than a device to maintain an armed peace, there must be developed a much broader base of consensus. Presumably, all other nations that desire to participate in the world organization are to be invited to join, as soon as their internal organization and peaceful intentions justify the invitation. But their acceptance of such an invitation must depend on their confidence in the policies and functions of the world organization. And in order to secure their adherence, the United Nations will have to lay down such a world order as will justify this confidence. That is, a world organization, though beginning with a peace enforced by military power, must, if it becomes and remains a truly world organization, ultimately rest upon a consensus that reflects a genuine world public opinion. Such a world public opinion, of course, could never be a unanimous opinion any more than a national public opinion is ever unanimous. But it would have to be a predominant opinion freely arrived at.

When we come to consider the essential structure and functions of the organization, we must take into account the necessity for gradual growth. It is true that we have the pattern that was created in the League of Nations. And we also have a considerable body of international law, treaties, and schemes for joint international action that has been growing up over the centuries. Undoubtedly, much of this can be utilized in framing the foundations of a world organization. Highly important also are the cooperative measures already worked out and still to be

worked out by the United Nations in the prosecution of the war and in meeting the exigencies of a chaotic world on the cessation of hostilities. These practical measures may well furnish the most usable foundation stones for the future structure.

Since the United States and Great Britain must play such a large part not only in the initiation but also in the development over the years of any workable program of world organization, it is inevitable that whatever is achieved must reflect to a considerable degree the spirit and character of Anglo-Saxon institutions. This must be true both of the product and of the methods and processes by which the ends are achieved. As pointed out earlier in this paper, no human institutions are built from blueprints. They are the product of man's somewhat stumbling and groping and always pragmatic efforts to satisfy needs. He seldom sees very far ahead, at least in detail, the structure that he is trying to build. Trial and error are his chief techniques, and compromise and improvisation his most often used methods. It is true that in the more advanced cultures there has been some increase in actual planning and in the application of logic and scientific method to the building and modification of social institutions. But there are still many factors beyond man's control, and institutional development must continue to be greatly affected by forces which cannot be foreseen for any long period of time. Nowhere have the methods of improvisation, compromise, and opportunism been demonstrated in such an extensive and continuous manner as in the long development of Anglo-Saxon institutions. The English and American people have never been greatly enamored of logic and consistency in dealing with their respective national problems. The immediate practical situation has always been the thing that has occupied their primary attention. Whether or not their decision has accorded with any

logical theory or has been consistent with past decisions has been of little moment. Does it meet the present need? Does it successfully harmonize conflicting interests? Will it work? These have been the fundamental questions to be answered.<sup>2</sup>

In contrast, the Latin peoples are much more inclined to lay down broadly inclusive principles and seek to bring their policies into conformity with some logical scheme of things. And the Russians in 1937 and the years following undertook to revamp their economic, political, and religious institutions according to a preconceived and rigorous plan to which all policies had to conform without regard to consequences. We can scarcely imagine the United States or Great Britain following a similar method.

It does not appear likely that any world organization in which the United States and Great Britain assume leading roles will follow any plan that is worked out with much detail very far in advance and in accordance with broadly conceived principles. It seems more probable that it will begin with cooperative measures that have been found workable in a joint prosecution of the war and those that are adapted to the peculiar conditions that must be encountered in the reconstruction period. Moreover, it will have to be adapted to the conflicting interests not only of the allied nations but of those who are later to be admitted as equal partners in the enterprise. This intricate complex of conflicting interests in a world of seething hatreds and

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<sup>2</sup> The question may be raised whether the American Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution are not documents formulating a general theory of society and laying down a logical scheme of action. As a matter of fact, it is generally recognized that the Revolutionary fathers were greatly influenced in their pronouncements by the French social and political philosophies, which accounts for the logical and far-reaching aspects of the philosophy enunciated in these documents. It is significant, however, that in the practical application of the philosophy the founding fathers were able to declare "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights," while these same founding fathers maintained the institution of Negro slavery. And our historians have pointed out the extent to which the Constitution is a medley of inconsistent compromises.

frustrations calls for all the capacity for compromise and accommodation that can possibly be summoned. It would be utopian to believe that in the face of such difficulties there could be worked out in any brief period a world order that would resolve summarily all these tensions and provide the machinery for comprehensive cooperation. The most that we can hope for within the near future is the laying of some secure foundations and the discovery of the general outline of the structure that is to be built over the years.

The development of a comprehensive and effective world organization, as of all institutional growth, centers around the two problems of consensus and implementing machinery. In some respects these react upon each other, any development of one increasing the development of the other. But undoubtedly, of the two, consensus is primary. As we have noted earlier, all institutions are rooted in the consciousness of a need on that part of a population that represents the prevailing public opinion. It is the general agreement within this group concerning the existence of the need and the desirability of satisfying the need by a particular behavior pattern that provides the basis for any institution. In the case of such institutions as the family and economic organization, which develop through their earlier stages without much social self-consciousness, there is no need for any formal action on the part of the group until the institution is well established in the habits of the people; but for such an institution as a world organization there clearly is need for some formal action before any machinery is put into operation. The formulation of any institutional machinery undoubtedly calls for definite agreement on the ends sought and the acceptable means before the implementing action is taken. Without an effective favorable public opinion there can be no workable world organization.

This was shown clearly in the history of the League of Nations. While there were admitted weaknesses in the implementing machinery and in some of the accepted objectives of the League, the most serious weakness was the lack of a sufficiently strong public opinion to support effective action by the League. Although there was considerable opinion favorable to the League in the United States, it was not sufficiently strong to overcome the opposition to our entrance which was engendered by partisan politics. While there was nominal acceptance of the League in Great Britain and France, the public opinion was not sufficiently strong to force the government to support the League when it was to the advantage of the conservative interests of those nations to allow the League to lapse in the performance of its functions. The crisis in the history of the League occurred when Japan initiated aggressive action against Manchuria. With the support of the United States, which was proffered, the League could have halted the aggression and with it probably the chain of events in Europe that led to the present war. But it was not to the advantage of the conservative financial interests of Great Britain and France to have the League oppose Japan at that time. And the public opinion of those countries in favor of supporting action was not strong enough to overcome the weight of those interests. The result was the defaulting by the League in the performance of its most important function. This default was the beginning of the end of the League. The conquests of Abyssinia by Italy, the overthrow of the Republican government of Spain by Germany and Italy, the conquest of Austria and Czechoslovakia by Germany were the logical consequences of the failure of the League to secure a sufficient support of public opinion to enable it to discharge its declared functions when the crisis was first encountered in 1931.

The history of the League and its failure make it clear that the foundation of any world organization that survives and functions effectively is the consensus that is evidenced by the public opinion of its constituent members with respect to it. This public opinion must endorse the functions undertaken by the organization and the general character of the machinery set up to implement these functions. It must also continue to underwrite the effective operation of the organization in meeting the obligations implied in its declared functions and its machinery. Without such a public opinion elaborate schemes and pronouncements are of little avail save as devices for developing popular attitudes and intelligence.

The implementing machinery or institutional forms of a world organization will depend first of all upon the functions which the supporting opinion demands shall be performed. An organization such as the international postal union is simple because the functions are comparatively simple and do not call for a great deal of reconciliation of conflicting interests. But an organization that undertakes to maintain peace and secure international economic cooperation calls for a machinery that is elaborate enough to exercise compelling force while at the same time reconciling a great variety of conflicting interests. As additional functions are added, new machinery must be created appropriate to the various tasks undertaken, the elaborateness of the institutional forms always being roughly proportionate to the number and complexity of the functions to be performed. Not only must institutional forms be adapted to function, but also they must conform to the underlying social philosophy on which the organization is built. If the organization is to be controlled by a few powerful states in the interest of imperialistic exploitation of weaker peoples, it will take on an institutional form adapted to that end; but, if it is conceived as a democratic organization of all peoples,

dedicated to justice and equal rights and opportunities for all, it will require a much different form. That is, a world organization in its institutional forms will reflect a definite social philosophy as do the institutional forms of a single state.

As indicated earlier in this paper, the consensus that at present exists in the United Nations concerning world organization is concerned primarily with the matter of preventing international war and the threat of war. That is the function of world organization on which there appears to be today almost universal consensus among all who have indicated any interest in a world organization. And, as we have also indicated, it appears probable that the beginnings of such organization for the enforcement of peace will emerge out of the cooperative activities of the United Nations in the prosecution of the war and in the necessary rehabilitation work immediately following the cessation of hostilities.

If the world organization undertook no functions beyond this one, it still would eventually require a considerable body of organizational machinery and equipment. The period of military control by the armed forces of the four dominant united nations must of necessity be comparatively brief. It must be supplanted within a few years by a permanent body of officials especially selected for the task, endowed with certain definite powers, and equipped with adequate facilities for exercising these powers. These powers include the determination of relations between states, the definition of rights and of procedure in case of offenses by one state against another, that is, legislative functions. They include the interpretation of these rules and regulations and their application to particular cases, that is, judicial functions. And they also involve administrative or executive functions for putting the rules and regulations into effect, that is, securing obedience to the decisions of the organization.

In short, a world organization that undertakes no more extensive functions than the maintenance of international peace must involve the exercise of the legislative, judicial, and executive functions that are embodied in any governmental institution. And this requires a considerable personnel of specialized individuals with the necessary secretarial and clerical staff. It also requires buildings and all the other physical equipment necessary for carrying on the functions of the organization. And, what is still more important, it requires a plan for the selection of the personnel and for determining the extent to which the different states shall control the selection and influence the policies. These are all minimal institutional requirements for any world organization that undertakes the task of maintaining world peace.

The discussion of world organization has, however, gone beyond the consideration of this primary function, for many individuals and groups in all the United Nations; additional functions have been proposed and discussed by various groups. In some cases extensive and comprehensive plans for international cooperation in particular areas have been formulated. The area that, next to the maintenance of peace, has received the greatest attention is international economic cooperation. The interest in this springs from two sources. The first of these is the conviction that, since the conflict of economic interests is the most prolific cause of war, it will be difficult, if not impossible, for any organization to prevent war unless we find some way of lessening economic tensions between states. Those who hold this conviction therefore believe that, in order to make any world organization succeed in its primary function of maintaining peace, it must go back of the overt outbreak of hostilities between states and deal with the underlying causes of international friction.

The other motive is that of promoting the economic welfare of the peoples of all countries by greatly increas-

ing the amount of economic cooperation. This motive is supported by the conviction that under the conditions of present-day life all peoples have become, in fact, so interdependent that the welfare of all, or at least that of the majority of people in all countries, will be furthered to a great degree by shifting our emphasis from competitive to cooperative effort. Both of these motives, the lessening of international tensions and the increase of economic welfare, have led to rather widespread discussion of various forms of international economic organization by many individuals, groups, and political leaders, although it cannot be said that any definite public opinion on the matter yet exists.

Another area for international organization that has been proposed is education.<sup>3</sup> Numerous educators have become convinced that the cultural relations of different peoples and the need to keep our schools from becoming the means of promoting narrow and bigoted nationalism call for some means of keeping the educational systems of different countries in close contact with one another. This does not imply any movement away from cultural autonomy within states or any effort toward erasing cultural uniqueness. It merely looks toward broadening cultural horizons, increasing sympathetic appreciation of other cultures, and profiting from the educational experience of other peoples.

Further proposals have been made for world organization for health and for population planning.<sup>4</sup> The International Labor Office of the League of Nations, which achieved some notable results, has provided a pattern

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<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Grayson N. Kefauver, "Peace Aims Call for International Action in Education," *New Europe*, 3:15 ff., May, 1943. See comments by various writers in the June, 1943, issue of *New Europe*; papers presented at the Institute on the Educational Reconstruction of Central and Eastern Europe, New York University; Feliks Gross, "Educational Reconstruction in Europe," *American Sociological Review*, 8:543 ff., October, 1943.

<sup>4</sup> See J. Heng Lin, "The Need for an International Health Organization," *New Europe*, 3:9 ff., May, 1943; Imre Ferenczi, "Freedom from Want and International Population Policy," *American Sociological Review*, 8:537 ff., October, 1943.

which it is proposed might be followed in the organization of effort for such interests as these. Undoubtedly, if and when a world organization is well established and supported by an extensive and effective world public opinion, there will be many activities such as these which will become regular functions.

The assumption of such additional functions would, of course, increase the complexity of the organization and call for considerable elaboration of the institutional equipment. Thus, the minimal institutional equipment would follow the number and complexity of the functions. It is highly important, however, that we recognize that the basic requirement for the whole enterprise is a consensus expressed through an effective public opinion. Without this there can be no institutional development at all. In the present stage of the enterprise it would appear that the most needed activity is the building of this public opinion.

In the United States, particularly, there never has been any widespread recognition of the world interdependence that has been increasing at such a rapid rate within the past half-century. Many intelligent people apparently still believe that it would be possible for the United States to meet its problems and achieve a high degree of the good life, regardless of what occurs in the outside world. So long as this belief dominates the thinking and political and economic behavior of important sections of the population, it will be difficult, if not impossible, for the United States to take an important part in building any world organization. And without the United States an effective world organization is well-nigh impossible. For the achievement of such an enterprise it therefore appears that the creation of an intelligent understanding of the fact of world interdependence is of more immediate importance than the drawing up of elaborate plans for an organization that may be stillborn.

## A SOCIOLOGICAL EXPLORER: ROBERT E. PARK

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● More perhaps than any other contemporary American sociologist Robert E. Park demonstrated the breadth of the social fields that lie ready for sociological exploration, the variety of the methods available for their cultivation, and the wider implications of the findings of scientific sociology. Moreover, he had in unusual measure the ability to attract young, energetic students into research work and to equip them for studying and understanding social situations.

To provide a bill of particulars covering the activities and interests of so complex a personality, who was at once student, teacher, and leader, would require a volume; brief note only can be made of certain traits and attitudes that may help one to understand Park's impact on students and colleagues. The student, for example, understood from the start of his work with Park that every social situation could and perhaps should be given further scientific study. Unanswered questions were on every hand, and no adequate ready-made answers were available or to be tolerated. He simply brusquely swept aside offhand pronouncements, whoever might sponsor them. For him there was only one way to deal with an unanswered social question: study it.

Park had an uncanny ability to formulate the specific questions to be studied in arriving at a better understanding of a problematic situation. He cut squarely through current preconceptions, conventional clichés, and closed systems of thinking. The social research attack, therefore, began with an opening of the student's mind to new possibilities, to new points of view, and to new methods. Inevi-

tably, such procedure on occasion brought Park into direct opposition to established professional interests, and it was a constant challenge to any point of view based upon a vested interest. Nor did he always have the patience to deal diplomatically with those interests when they tried to repel what they sometimes regarded as an unwarranted invasion of their private preserves. For Park the student had an implied, if not an openly avowed, scientific right, indeed obligation, to study social life without the by-your-leave of any traditional or arbitrary authority. However, on many occasions those in authority came quickly to share in large measure his scientific point of view, and then research became for them not an attack upon existing institutions and policies but a form of critique by which organization and policy could be reoriented and reformulated. Park had no interest in social reform as such, but regarded it merely as another social phenomenon requiring scientific analysis.

Furthermore, the "findings" of social research were to him not to be regarded as in any sense conclusive. Findings were tentative, the study process was continuous, and further research was always in order. Students were frequently shocked to learn from him that an elaborately developed thesis, which had painstakingly followed a line of reasoning agreed upon as demonstrated by the data at hand, was to be challenged and unhesitatingly discarded if further reflection or newer data demanded such action. The student was expected to be his own severest critic and to be amenable always to the demands of scientific logic.

An experience that practically all of Park's students shared was instruction in the editing of a manuscript. Like a merciless editor of a newspaper, he literally tore apart the student's composition in the search for a simpler, more lucid, effective, and accurate way of stating thought. Choice of words, economy of expression, word order,

paragraph construction, and the minutiae of composition were sometimes illustrated on the student's manuscript so fully that it remained hardly legible. After a few pages the student was then urged to treat the entire manuscript in like fashion. It was a difficult art, however, and Park's own writings did not always achieve the goal he set for his students.

Such individual instruction was time consuming, but for the student who was willing to learn Park set no limits on his time. Hours-long conferences, frequently growing out of some wholly chance meeting with the student, were common occurrences. Park's mind never seemed to put aside the problems involved in a student's project so long as the student kept actively at work on it.

Since the concept is the tool par excellence of the research student and since new data are a constant challenge to old concepts and are the basis for developing new concepts that, in turn, may lead to new ranges of data, the student under Park's direction found himself in an ever-widening spiral of scientific activity by which he continuously broadened and deepened the scope and the meaning of his work. Such constant restating of problems, redesigning of tools, and reframing of methods of work give little peace to the academic mind that requires correct answers, intellectual certainties, and mental security; but they constitute the very core of the point of view of the creative scientific research worker.

For Park life was where you find it. A student could begin his study of the social situation by studying that situation in which he found himself: driving a taxicab, "modeling" shoes, directing boys' groups, playing in a night-club orchestra, working in a branch library, dealing with family problems in a case work agency, working as an "extra" in Hollywood, or hoboing. Marginal persons and marginal activities seemed to him to be particularly

interesting. Students were encouraged to enter as fully as possible into the social worlds they studied, participating in them sufficiently to understand the attitudes and values of these worlds. Complete identification with the persons studied, however, was taboo, since the student was in danger of becoming an apologist or even a protagonist rather than remaining a research student. The student's warrant for studying presupposed that he had a broader point of view than that of the persons studied, that he had a richer background against which to reflect the data and a more adequate scheme for analyzing it.

Though the student was expected to discard or avoid any rigid all-inclusive, unshakable philosophy when entering upon social research, he needed a flexible, growing, usable social philosophy that would itself benefit by the findings of research and would then serve as background for further study.

The robustness, virility, and independence of Robert E. Park, operating in a wide variety of social research fields—race relations, the community, personality development, social pathology, human ecology, institutional organization, collective behavior, sectarianism, as well as technical methods and the logic of the social sciences—have stimulated such widely different persons and groups that no single appraisal of his meaning for sociology and sociologists can tell the whole story. He was one of those fortunate leaders who found many followers whose activities are the best evidence of the deep significance of his contribution to his field—sociology.

## CAPITALISM AND SOCIAL CHANGE

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● Capitalism may be defined as an economic order in which the owners of wealth are free within changing limitations to organize and direct business enterprise for the sake of making profits. The three basic principles on which the capitalistic system rests are the right of private property, the right of free enterprise, and the right of liberty of contract. All three of these pillars of capitalism have undergone marked changes as the nation moved into the power age. The bundle of rights known as private property rights has lost many of its component sticks. Free enterprise has been restricted because of the growth of large-scale corporate business and the consequent development of semimonopolistic power in the place of the competition of pioneer days. Finally, liberty of contract has been modified by expanding the concept of public welfare or of the police power of the state. However, capitalism has never existed in an atmosphere in which there was no restraint on the part of government.

Capitalism has not been a static institution; it has greatly changed its form within a generation. Many writers and speakers appear to believe that the capitalistic system, as it now exists, is old and inelastic. To believe in perpetualism is a common fault of the individuals of yesterday and today who lack historical perspective. However, a brief study of economic history clearly indicates that capitalism has been subjected to rapid changes in structure. As an inevitable consequence the system is suffering from an extraordinary number of stresses and strains. The capitalism of the period of Franklin D. Roosevelt is quite different from that of the McKinley era, and the latter in turn does not greatly resemble the

frontier capitalism which flourished in the Jacksonian epoch. The American capitalism of large-scale corporate industry is far different from the capitalism of the frontier. Furthermore, capitalism in the United States is by no means the same institution as contemporary English capitalism. It also differs from the French or German variety. American capitalism may not be dying, as many of its opponents fondly hope, but it may be undergoing reorganization. New boundaries and limits are perhaps being surveyed.

The capitalism of the machine age is a program or institution adapted to a period of expansion in population, market areas, productivity, and the demand for material goods which make up standards of living. May capitalism be adjusted to carry on in a world in which there are few frontier communities, slow population growth, and markets which must be cultivated intensively rather than extensively? Or is capitalism an institution fitted only for life in the interesting epoch which extends roughly from the discovery of this continent to the end of the first third of the present century? Must capitalism be scrapped as outmoded because the velocity of change in the physical world is slowing down? It may be true that capitalism "cannot live without ever expanding"; but that expansion may not always take the form of widening markets and growing populations. It may take the form of expanding to meet vertically developing markets and rising standards of living for a stationary or nearly stationary population. It may reasonably be suggested that science, the great disturber, may be directed to find new channels for experimentation and new outlets for the restless energy of the scientist. If the end of progress in certain directions has practically been reached, the eager scientist and the engineer will turn to other fields of endeavor. Indeed, the end of the great dynamic epoch in human history may not as

yet have been reached. The engineer and the scientist may be laying the foundation for a new and modified capitalism instead of destroying the institution. Capitalism in the power age may be expected to remain dynamic. Inventions, new processes, and new methods of management will continue to appear. The World War may hasten and accentuate changes which have been taking place; but, if the Allied nations win, the suggestion is ventured that the trend of events will not be fundamentally modified.

Capitalism has emphasized the importance of the profit-making motive. The profit-making urge is an integral portion of a wider impulse—the desire for power and prestige, the “wish for worth,” or the fondness for significance. The desire for business profits may be fundamentally due to the necessity of obtaining a sufficiency to maintain self and family; but in the case of the great majority of Americans who participate in profits, the desire for power, influence, prestige, or significance has been the potent force which leads to active endeavor. The “custom and habitual assumptions” of the group to which one belongs are also important factors in the determination of the direction of human activity. In the past our American capitalistic system has been one “which flourishes only when business men are disposed to take chances” with a view to money-making. Today, however, cost accounting, scientific management, formal and informal agreements between business units, the development of large-scale economic planning, the increasing purchasing on the part of governmental units, and the growth of standardization are tending to reduce risks and also the chances to make a killing. On the other hand, taxation is being utilized to take away extraordinary gains or profits which may spring into being in spite of these obstacles.

At the present time a large percentage of the gainful workers are no longer directly affected by the profit-

making motive. The relative number of owner-enterprisers has been reduced. Management in large corporations has been quite generally divorced from ownership and is not directly affected by the profit motive. The great mass of workers in manufacturing, mining, transportation, and trade are employees, not owners or even part owners. Many farmers who are owners of the farms they operate are in that occupation primarily for other reasons than profit-making. If capitalism is to continue, either non-financial motives must assume prominence or some way must be found to bring a share of the profits to management and workers through a profit-sharing plan. Increasing the stability of the job and giving a guaranteed annual wage supplemented by some bonus because of greater efficiency and better teamwork will tend to reduce the hostility of workers toward capitalism. Such plans would increase the number of active workers interested in the profit motive.

Capitalism rests on a theory of individual responsibility and individual initiative. Private property rights are essential to the existence of capitalism, but the concept of private property rights has undergone many changes in recent generations. Labor and security legislation, building restrictions, zoning regulations, the expansion of the police power of the state, and many other legal restrictions have changed the power of the owner over his property. The right to own property is in reality a miscellaneous collection of rights which may be augmented, changed, or reduced by governmental authority or by custom. Ultimately the definition of property and property rights rests in the United States with the Federal Supreme Court. The earlier idea of property was concerned only with the tangible or corporeal property which could be touched or handled. Later came the idea of intangible value belonging to certain concerns. In 1890 the United States Supreme

Court recognized that the reduction of railway rates by a railway commission might constitute the taking of "property," intangible property of the railroad as a going concern. The tangible or corporeal property of the railroad would, of course, be unchanged.

Certain types of private property may be transformed into public property and no longer allowed to exist under private ownership, as recently happened in regard to gold coin and gold bullion. In a similar manner, the scope and extent of capitalism may be and are being modified. The minting of money, the operation of the postal system, and the control of roads have been taken out of the hands of private business. In many countries the railways are governmentally operated. Other projects, like the building of the Panama Canal or the Tennessee Valley development, may be public enterprises. Enlargements in the scope of public enterprise, the limitation of the power of private enterprise to carry on its functions through labor legislation or through legislation such as the N.L.R. Act, or the narrowing of private property rights changes the form of capitalism but does not necessarily indicate that the nation has passed out of capitalism into socialism or into some other form of industrial or economic control.

The pioneer form of capitalism was characterized by small units of property privately owned. The owner was also the manager and director of the property or business. Property in those days signified tangible property which, as someone has suggested, could be hit with a hammer. It consisted of land, buildings, tools, livestock, and the like; it did not consist of notes, bonds, stock certificates, and other paper claims. Soon after the middle of the nineteenth century the modern corporation began to play an important role in the business world. The corporation was granted certain privileges by the state which authorized its existence. It was an artificial or legal person replacing

the individual owner and manager; it could sue and be sued; it could make and enforce contracts. The corporation represents a group of owners, many or all of whom may have no active connection with the management of the business. Soon after the turn of the century corporate management took on new aspects. The holding corporation appeared; and the pyramiding of paper certificates became a favorite financial pastime. Then came the investment banker, the investment trust, and combinations horizontal, vertical, and circular. The investor and the owner were bewildered by the maze of intangibles resting on more intangibles. The stockholder or the bondholder has a claim upon tangible operated property, but if the property were split up it would have very little value. Its value depends upon having the property consolidated, unified, and coordinated. For a stockholder to claim and take possession of one machine or one corner of some floor of a factory building or of his share of the total assets of a corporation would lead to confusion and ineffectiveness. The actual managers and the engineers who direct the tangible property which is hidden under the smokescreen of paper securities and values are under orders given by financiers. Pecuniary aims rather than engineering programs were definitely placed in the foreground in the business world. But the breakdown of 1929 cast a dark shadow of doubt upon the wisdom of banker control—unless definitely guided and restricted by governmental authority in the interests of other groups in the community.

The pioneer farmer and the small businessman of over a generation ago did not expect to turn their business property into cash. They possessed little liquid capital. Today, on the contrary, much emphasis is being placed on liquidity, that is, the ability to convert paper claims quickly into cash. Of course, in an emergency this cannot be done readily. If nearly all tried to sell, there would be

inevitably few or none to buy. The business world would experience a financial panic.

Almost all our large corporations combine centralized control with diffused ownership among a large number of the middle class. There are about five million separate stockholders. Indirectly, millions of depositors in savings banks and more millions who hold life insurance policies are owners of corporate stocks and bonds. Also, millions of Americans now own United States bonds. Capitalism, with its growing interest in corporate property, is quite dependent upon legislative enactments. The corporation is not a rugged individual; it is brought into being as a result of legislation. Without the law-given privilege of limited liability its life and size would be limited. A return to *laissez faire* or to the free enterprise system of the pioneer would result in a marked change in capitalism—or in its breakdown.

Traditionally, the function of the enterpriser has been to assume risks, to develop new products and processes. Progress has been made by those who are alert, competent, and daring. The development of large corporations with huge overhead expenses and accurate cost accounting systems tends to curb the venturesome leaders possessing initiative and the desire to do things in new ways. In businesses with high fixed expenses, innovations make for financial insecurity. Security becomes preferable to economic adventure, but too great emphasis upon security puts the brake upon the car of progress. Big corporations, confronted only with imperfect or little competition, can afford to pay high wages and cater to organized labor. They can pass the costs on in higher prices. A small business, which is highly competitive, cannot do so without agreements which may easily run counter to antitrust legislation.

Again, the problem of providing commodities for the people of the United States changes greatly as we ap-

proach a condition in which we have the requisites in plant and equipment to produce a sufficiency for all of food, shelter, and clothing. Since profit-making business flourishes only under scarcity, as an approach is made toward the sufficient production of a necessity, the price of the commodity drops and profits tend to vanish; the commodity is, therefore, no longer suitable for business activities. Certain necessities which may be produced in sufficient quantities for all families may be expected to pass out of the realm of private into that of public production or distribution; the water supply in many cities and public education are now supplied in this fashion. The sphere of private operation will probably be narrowed and that of public operation broadened, but both public and private business may persist side by side. The engineer and the scientist by increasing national potential productivity are changing and enlarging the field of public service. Unless controlled and directed by business interests, the engineer and the scientist are not hampered by the profit-making motive or by the pecuniary desirability of scarcity. The businessman is. The chief obstacles to greatly increased national productivity in this country are institutional or man-made, not engineering or physical. If not understood before the war began, it is now crystal clear.

A war economy calls for production and more production. When fighting a total war, price is no longer the determining factor in stimulating production. If a war economy sets up any guidepost for peacetime, it is this: if capitalism continues to live, industry must emphasize production rather than the restriction of output. The rewards, pecuniary or otherwise, must go to the management and the men who produce goods and services, not to those who persist in restricting output. Henry Ford, Henry Kaiser, and mass production represent the new points of view.

Certainly the chastening experience of the depression years indicated clearly that new rules and an umpire are needed in the business game. In changing and disillusioned America the people may be induced to adopt a program located in the broad zone between extreme individualism and collectivism. Indeed, in a complex economic order the preservation of a considerable degree of individual initiative may depend upon governmental control and umpiring in the field of business endeavor, or upon the presence of governmental regulation within the system called capitalism. In 1938 a conservative magazine indicated that every businessman "who is not kidding himself" knows that, if the government took its hands off business and left the enterprise and the enterpriser entirely to their own devices, business in the United States would again be heading for disaster. Whatever may have been the consequences of the AAA, it proved that it is feasible to get a group of individualistic and competing farmers to work along the lines of a program laid down by a central government. It may be reasonably assumed that a similar program applied to other groups in the community could be made to work toward the expansion as well as toward the reduction of output. Many of the ills of the dismal thirties, such as technological unemployment or poverty in the midst of plenty, were the growing pains of a new and rapidly evolving economic and social world. These ills are not the rheumatic pains and stiffnesses of old age in the social and economic order. To "work with change" instead of futilely opposing it is a program which science approves.

In the decade preceding Pearl Harbor the American people possessed the greatest productive mechanism the world has ever known, but it was operated very irregularly and, considered as a unit, very inefficiently. The United States produced during the years of depression only a fraction of what it was capable of producing. Idle

men, idle machines, idle buildings, and idle equipment were paralleled by hungry, poorly clad, and badly housed men, women, and children. In the recent depression we were poor financially but not physically. The kind of capital and resources with which the pioneer was familiar persisted. The United States still possessed the machines, materials, men, management, and money or credit necessary to produce a vast flow of needed commodities, services, and capital goods. But markets were neglected, the great business machine stalled because of financial, not engineering, problems. Without going to war, how can the great business and production machine be thrown into high gear and kept in high gear? As population and industrial units become larger, flexibility is reduced and the rigidity of structure increased. Fundamental inventions are not eagerly sought, as considerable change in the technological setup may mean heavier losses in overhead through obsolescence.

Finally, it may be pointed out that under our present system, which we call profit-making, what is particularly desirable for one individual or one corporation may be undesirable for all or for the community. One organization may make large profits if it controls the output of a necessity and restricts its production of that article; but, if every individual and every corporation does likewise with all sorts of produce, obviously production is reduced, standards of living will fall, and a serious situation will be confronted by that society. Universal slackerism is a menace. For one of many competitors to expand his plant and increase the output of his organization might be highly desirable, but if all competitors do likewise it may result in overexpansion or overdevelopment in that industry. It may lead to maladjustment, to idleness of plants and of workers, and to economic waste. Immediate personal expediency may run counter to the best interests of the group.

As long as expansion continued, capitalism and democracy seemed to be harmonious and related institutions. From the geographical point of view there are at the present time no more new lands and continents to conquer, subdue, and exploit. As the period of expansion ended, as the geographical frontier vanished, nationalism with its parochial point of view, with its tariff walls and quotas, and with its particularistic prejudices became a generally accepted doctrine. Better transportation and communication had been mooring the continents in the same harbor; but in this age of insecurity national, political, and economic antagonisms, resting upon a foundation of impulses growing out of the early struggles and the dangerous life of humankind, have been tending at the same time to separate the peoples of the world and to lead the nations back toward the localism of the Middle Ages or beyond. While the technical facilities for international trading have been improving, international trade is declining and markets must be found at home. Capitalism in the power age, in the epoch of nationalism in which tolerance and good will are at a low ebb, and in the period following the long march of expansion across the continents faces new and peculiar problems. Men and women are asking: Can democracy be squared with the new capitalism of today? Or can capitalism be maintained only as a special privilege for minority groups? Certainly it is not easy for men today to discuss calmly the issues involved. Insecurity, which is characteristic of these times, does not make for tolerance; and freedom is a twin of tolerance.

The nineteenth century, with its long list of achievements in science, industry, and technology, has set an intricate stage upon which to enact the drama of today and tomorrow. We now need organized genius and initiative in the economic and political fields. We now need men who are able calmly to take a fresh survey of the intricate

cooperative world in which we are living. We now need individuals who can look beyond the immediate and personal to a longer-run social point of view. However, the order in which men and women of today live has tended to emphasize personal and immediate affairs rather than social or long-run matters. The new fields to conquer are found in the balancing of consumption and production on a high level, in the elimination of unemployment, and in the spread of well-being. America has the capital, the power, the natural resources, the labor power, the skill, and the managerial ability to reach these attractive goals. Shall we be able to coordinate and direct effectively the forces now going to waste because of business anarchy? If so, it may be reasonably anticipated that capitalism and democracy may persist side by side as these new economic frontiers are being surveyed and cultivated in the postwar world. War has clearly indicated that a global economy and a world outlook are essential to the welfare, prosperity, and improvement of any one nation or group of peoples.

## TRENDS IN THE PUBLIC HOUSING PROGRAM IN THE UNITED STATES

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● Shortly before the depression that began in October, 1929, there was in many quarters the expressed hope that poverty would soon be abolished, a chicken would be in every pot, and human want would become a bygone fact. No serious attention, however, had been paid to the conditions under which millions of people were living. To them, the claim that poverty would soon disappear was merely a rash and unjustified assertion. Only too soon the menace of poverty returned in dire and unexpected grimness, and the homes of millions of American people were placed in jeopardy.

*Salvaging homes.* When the federal government in 1933 began to take stock of this situation, it became clear that insurance companies, banks, and other financial agencies had a strangle hold on a large proportion of the farms, homesteads, and private homes in many parts of the country. Again, it was estimated that approximately one third of our homes, or more than 10,000,000 houses, were decidedly substandard in quality and not fit for habitation according to recognized American standards. The first duty, however, was not to build new homes but to save for the owners the houses in which they lived. A construction program was required, therefore, to await a vigorous attempt to protect homeowners against the seizure of their property and against eviction. Accordingly, in 1933 the Home Owners Loan Corporation was established. Funds were appropriated for the making of loans, and during the three years that money was loaned more than 10,000,000 homeowners received money on easy terms. Time was given the borrowers to make adjustments, to settle ac-

counts, and, if possible, to protect the property from foreclosure. Many cases, of course, were hopeless, and the Corporation was forced to proceed against approximately 200,000 pieces of property or one fifth of the total number on which loans had been made. Nevertheless, these figures indicate a high degree of success in saving homes and lands for the unfortunate victims of the depression. In 1936 the making of new loans was discontinued.

As students of housing problems well know, private enterprise has not succeeded in providing the less fortunate one third of our population with housing accommodations that harmonize with other items in the standards of living of the American people. The poor simply cannot afford to live in houses that meet standards of comfort and decency. This situation theoretically can be met in one of several ways. First, if the income of all these workers were increased 20 per cent, the average budget would be sufficient to enable the workers to live in fairly satisfactory apartments or to buy comfortable homes. The American workingman with an income of less than \$1,500 a year cannot afford to spend \$375, or one fourth of this amount, for housing without encroaching on other necessary items in the family budget. The Brookings Foundation reported that in 1929 families with incomes of \$1,250 to \$1,450 a year saved a mere 3 per cent of their income and that families with lower earning saved nothing at all.<sup>1</sup> In the larger cities the amount expended for rent by families of the income noted is somewhat greater and in New York City exceeds 30 per cent. On the other hand, for the country as a whole an expenditure of more than 25 per cent of the income on rent or housing is regarded as excessive and represents an abnormal distribution of family

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<sup>1</sup> *America's Capacity to Produce and America's Capacity to Consume*, p. 48. A digest of the studies made by the Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., under a grant from the Maurice and Laura Folk Foundation of Pittsburgh, and published in 1933-34.

expenditures. Under these conditions it appears that among the low-income groups the percentage of workers who can own their homes is decidedly small, and wages cannot suddenly be raised to meet the housing needs of the country.

A second possible way of meeting the situation is the development of cheaper methods of building small but substantial homes. Up to the present time homebuilders have been forced to confine their projects to houses for the middle- and the upper-income groups. These can afford to divert some funds from their savings and many can own their homes. House building, however, is not sufficiently mechanized to enable the cost to fall within the reach of the less fortunate members of the middle-class groups. In addition, the restrictions on the inspections made during the progress of building and the other external costs involved are partly responsible for the inability to finance the building of a home. Machine production, such as the building of prefabricated houses or the construction of a quantity of buildings on some housing project, may reduce the per capita cost and eventually bring ownership within reach of the average worker. At present the practical difficulties that must be encountered prevent an early realization of this hope. In addition, the interest rates that borrowers have been compelled to pay far exceed the productivity of the loan or the amount of risk involved. Consequently, the prospective house builder cannot afford to borrow, and his income does not allow the setting aside of sufficient funds to buy or own a home.

The third possibility is some form of public housing program. This may consist of provision for loans on easy terms with little or no danger of foreclosure, or it may take the form of publicly built houses that are held or owned by the housing authority but rented to suitable tenants. In view of the extensive housing projects carried

out in foreign countries and the need of promoting industrial operations here, the federal government in 1934 organized the Federal Housing Administration.

*Federal housing.* Some of the ideas incorporated in the plan of operations were borrowed from Great Britain, where experimentation in various types of housing programs had been carried on since the first World War. The F.H.A. was intended to stimulate private enterprise into new activities. Housing was a field in which the needs were great, in which both capital and labor might be invested and the sharpness of the depression dulled. To enable private funds or savings to move and become productive, the builder was privileged to borrow money from the banks at low rates, which, when insurance costs and other charges were added, totaled less than 6 per cent, thus bringing the loan within reach of the borrower. The bank could afford to make the loan because the federal government provided insurance against loss. Such protection was not given to the borrower. However, on a \$5,000 home the bank was permitted to advance him 90 per cent, provided a down payment of \$500 had been made. The monthly payments, excluding taxes and insurance, amounted to less than \$27.00 and the debt could be cleared in 25 years. Liberal treatment such as this resulted in the building of thousands of homes. The value of nonfarm residential buildings constructed by private builders had fallen from 4.5 billions of dollars in 1926 to 413 millions in 1933. The new impetus to building, due largely to the Federal Housing Administration, resulted in a greatly increased construction program. The value of buildings constructed in 1941 was 2,881 billions.<sup>2</sup>

Loans made under the F.H.A. did not reach the lowest level of wage earners. Ordinarily, a loan was not approved if the amount exceeded two or two and one-half times the

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<sup>2</sup> *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1942, p. 992.

annual income of the borrower. Nor was it granted if the prospective borrower lacked a probable future trade life sufficiently long to enable him either to pay in full or to make adjustments that seemed fair and reasonable. The slum dweller gained no advantage from the law and was still a victim of bad housing. A recognition of this fact led to the next step in our housing program—the creation in 1937 of the United States Housing Authority. According to estimates that had been made, 3,000,000 housing units were needed. Of these 1,300,000 units were to consist of new construction and 1,700,000 of improved or reconditioned dwellings.

Throughout the country, in cities large and small, nests of bad houses were only too common. In order to obtain the advantages that the new plan offered, it became necessary for state and local communities to establish separate housing authorities. In some states the state authority was necessary in order that local authorities might be empowered to take advantage of the federal grants of aid. The new law made provision for slum clearance. The federal government provided 90 per cent of the cost of a local project and the city or county authority the remainder. According to the law, every new housing project was required to furnish housing for as many families as were displaced by the demolition of some slum area. The reconditioning of certain existing houses was, however, accepted to some extent as a substitute for the demolition of buildings.

The new movement began in earnest. More than 600 local housing authorities were established in the United States, and many of them took advantage of the federal law. The buildings were erected by the local authorities but followed patterns of construction fashioned by federal officials. When completed, they were filled with families belonging to the low-income groups. In fact, some fami-

lies were actually on relief. The rental charge was low and in many communities was less than one half of the sum that tenants had been paying. In northern states the monthly rent averaged less than \$15.00 per month; in the South it approximated \$10.50. The average income of the families, as indicated by the USHA, was \$929 for tenants in the North, \$700 for householders in the South, with an average of \$824 for the entire country. The slum-clearance program was expected to rehouse nearly 750,000 persons and made beginnings in over 400 localities and 39 states and territories.<sup>3</sup>

Pearl Harbor proved to be a rude awakening from our languorous effort to stimulate industry, and at once it became necessary to manufacture war materials of every variety. To do so, centers had to be established where goods could be made in large quantity. In consequence, factories were built in strategic places and workers summoned from all over the country. In certain sections, therefore, serious housing shortages arose. Housing had to be provided, since industry needed workers and there could be no delay in manufacturing the materials needed by our military forces. Certain housing needs became particularly acute because the migrant workers included members of minority groups for whom accommodations could not easily be secured. Congestion of the worst sort occurred in some communities. To meet this situation, the federal government abandoned for the time being its program of slum clearance and transformed the USHA into the Federal Public Housing Authority. A sum approximating \$1,600,000,000 was appropriated at intervals for the new needs and a plan of defense housing instituted.

The FPHA also took charge of the projects that had been built as part of the slum-clearance plan and utilized the buildings for defense workers. As quickly as condi-

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<sup>3</sup> *What and Why Is the USHA?* United States Housing Authority, 16-22489.

tions permitted, all housing units were reserved for such workers. Charges or rentals were organized on a new basis: individuals were charged according to their capacity to pay. Often it happened that two units adjacent to each other and essentially alike were rented to tenants at substantially different rates, but in all cases much above the figures prevalent when the units were used for low-income groups. Furthermore, the new prices are sufficient to put the housing on a paying basis. Before the war the rates were not sufficiently high to accomplish this result. In fact, the deficit amounted to approximately 25 or 30 per cent of the cost of liquidation.

Under the new program various types of dwellings have been constructed. These types are largely four in number—single-family houses, multiple units, trailer camps, and dormitories for single persons. The rush for building construction seems to have reached a peak in 1942 both for private and for public housing, but the decline for the latter was comparatively slight. The number of dwellings completed fell from 95,000 to 90,000, but the percentage of houses constructed under federal auspices rose from 33 to 42 per cent of the total.<sup>4</sup> There was a marked decrease in both the value and the number of dwellings constructed by private individuals or groups.

*Demountable or prefabricated homes.* A certain amount of experimentation has been carried out in respect to the building of demountable houses. These houses are comparatively flimsy in construction but are habitable for a given length of time and, if the need does not last too long, will meet the situation for workers who do not expect to remain in the area to which they have migrated. Houses of this type are serviceable in mild climates, but are quite unsatisfactory in localities where rigorous weather conditions prevail.

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<sup>4</sup> Bureau of Labor Statistics, Division of Construction and Public Employment, December, 1943.

For temporary purposes prefabricated houses also have put in a claim. The parts can be manufactured in the locality where the raw material abounds and then be transported to the place of construction, or the parts can be made at places adjacent to the housing project. Houses of this type can be produced more cheaply than others but, of course, lack variety and for this reason have proved objectionable to many persons. Speed of construction is another advantage which this type of house offers. In one case, an entire house was erected in 78 minutes. Cheapness is illustrated by the cost of a schoolhouse erected in Vallejo, California. The building has 24 rooms, accommodates 1,000 children, and cost the minimum sum of \$160,000.

*The FHA and War Production Board.* The FHA was not abolished with the coming of war, but its program was changed so as to stimulate war housing instead of private building for citizens. The increased demand for materials entering into production of munitions, airplanes, tanks, ammunition, et cetera, necessitated the imposing of restrictions on the purchase of such materials. As a consequence, the prewar program of the FHA could not be continued, but the services of the organization could be used to assist in the financing of houses for defense workers. Congress enabled builders to receive insurance up to \$5,000,000 on a given project. The principle of priorities operated to obtain the needed materials for the construction of houses, and as a consequence communities of considerable size and even small towns suddenly arose in the neighborhood of defense industries and provided housing for the workers. Occasionally, materials could not be obtained with the promptness desired and thus the work of construction was delayed.

As a rule, these houses are comparatively cheap and not too securely built. Builders are required to sign agree-

ments with the Office of Price Administration to hold rents down to a certain figure, the object being to prevent profiteering and the exploitation of the workers. All of these houses are reserved for defense workers, who may buy or rent. If purchased, the initial price is under control, and resales are not allowed within a specified time, perhaps from 12 to 18 months. The purpose of this limitation is to prevent speculation in defense housing. However, when the period of restriction is over, the purchaser of a home is no longer bound by these limitations. Occasional builders have been able to secure for their houses rent ceilings somewhat higher than the figures which ordinarily have been imposed. This grant of privilege is partly due to additional costs involved in the construction of buildings. Other reasons are less evident.

*The repair of buildings.* So acute has the housing shortage become that the federal government has made an appeal to house owners to repair their buildings or to enlarge them so that more defense workers may be accommodated. This opportunity has been given to thousands of ordinary homeowners who could without too much effort and expenditure of money add substantially to their housing accommodations. Easy terms are given to prospective builders, but the amount of expenditure per house is definitely limited. Each house owner desiring to make the alterations makes a written request for the materials and fills out a questionnaire that requires him to answer in detail the improvements he expects to make. He describes the dwelling units, the rooming accommodations, and the types of services that will be available. In addition, he signs an agreement to limit his charges to the figures given in his application. No definite figures are available relative to the number of private-house or tenement-house owners who have availed themselves of this opportunity.

*Spare rooms in private homes.* An additional effort to obtain housing accommodations for the thousands who have migrated to defense industry areas is the appeal to individual families to economize their own living quarters and create spare rooms to be rented to the temporarily homeless. This appeal has obtained considerable results among certain elements of our population, especially the group that finds the additional income a needed supplement to their normal earnings. Unfortunately, the appeal has not been measurably effective among the comfortable and well-to-do groups, most of whom have ample space to care for lodgers, particularly for men and women who are single or for families consisting of not more than two or three.

*Summary.* The war has produced a profound change in the federal housing program. The prewar emphasis was centered on two separate aims: increased construction of houses for families above the poverty line but unable to finance residences of the type to which they should be entitled and, second, a slum-clearance program and the development of comfortable housing for those entirely unable to buy or own their homes. With the advent of war, the problem of defense housing projected itself into the foreground. The previous aims were temporarily abandoned and all energy directed toward housing for defense workers and for persons connected with the war industries. The various measures taken may then be summarized as follows:

1. The FHA transferred its efforts from help for ordinary house builders to service for the construction of houses for war workers through the use of private capital.
2. The slum-clearance program of the USHA was discontinued and the thousands of units that had been built were utilized for defense workers as rapidly as conditions permitted.

3. The USHA became the FHA and continued to construct new houses but only as part of a defense program.

4. Homeowners have been encouraged to repair or remodel their houses in order that more room for tenants may be provided. Special advantages are given to individuals making use of these opportunities.

5. Sharing one's house with others has been encouraged and moral responsibility for cooperation in this respect from citizens emphasized.

All these efforts combined have been unable to meet given situations. In one city, when a 500-unit tract was opened, there were more than 2,000 valid eligible applicants for these homes, or more than four to one. Where will the overflow of families find accommodations? No one knows. Minority groups, such as Negroes and families of Mexican descent, are the victims of discrimination and suffer more severely than other homeless workers. In fact, the danger of race troubles is ever present. A group of women in Los Angeles recently bombarded the housing officials who were intending to permit a project to be utilized by applicants of various races and threatened to foment riots and race clashes unless the plans were changed.

The high wages of workers have made it possible for the Housing Authority to charge \$40 or more for housing units that previously had rented for \$20 or less. When the war is over, it will be difficult to return to the former price levels. Furthermore, the pressure of special interests will retard if not prevent the use of these structures for the beneficent purposes for which they were built. Already we hear selfish representatives of postwar planning groups demand that all housing in the future be strictly under private control. The fact that the slum-clearance program did not compete with private housing efforts is entirely ignored. The social value of better housing for all is con-

sidered a chimerical concept—a vagary of hopeless idealists and utopians. Today a permanent housing program such as that carried out in many European countries is in great danger of total collapse. The emergency needs of the war must, of course, be met. If the consequences of this necessity are a return to a laissez-faire housing program, then the interests of the 11,000,000 families living in sub-standard homes will be sacrificed to human greed and selfishness. The leaders in better housing for the masses will need to do their utmost to prevent such a calamity.

## NEGRO-WHITE RELATIONS DURING DEMOBILIZATION

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● Many persons are viewing, with a considerable degree of apprehension, the Negro-white situation in America as it relates to the period of demobilization. Fundamentally, the question is "Will there be conflicts between Negroes and whites?" It would be difficult to answer the question, affirmatively or negatively, except by conjecture on the basis of noticeable symptoms today resulting from aspirations of both groups. This fear of conflict issues from such symptoms as (1) race riots of 1943, (2) evidences of Negro progress, (3) the motive of Negro aspirations, (4) the attitude of other minorities toward the Negro and his toward them, and (5) the attitude of whites toward Negroes and other minorities in America.

The "zoot-suit" conflict in Los Angeles, which to a degree involved Negroes, the riots at Beaumont, Texas, and Detroit, and the social convulsion in Harlem constitute the primary basis for fear of future conflicts. Much has been spoken and written about these conflicts. It is necessary here only to observe that Negroes were not the aggressors in these outbreaks; that they were killed and injured, with the benefit of police aid, for no other reason than that they were Negroes and that those who perpetrated the crimes were American Fascists and Fascist propagandists. It has been said that the Beaumont riot was started by a local group interested in the election of a local official. Thus, the homes and business places of Negroes were plundered and burned, and Negroes mobbed, so that people would be afraid to venture going to voting places. These conflicts and opinions of persons in high places seem to support the general fear that other conflicts are to

come. Attorney General Biddle said recently that he would not be surprised if Negroes and whites in America rioted at any time. Meanwhile, certain of our cities have been listed as tension areas, especially war industry centers whose populations have rapidly increased.

Negro people in America last January celebrated the eightieth anniversary of American Emancipation. Every year this anniversary is thus celebrated because it affords Americans opportunity to take stock of the nation's progress, inasmuch as the welfare of Negro citizens is so inextricably interwoven into American life. The celebration gives opportunity also for Negro Americans to note their progress from year to year over the whole span from slavery to the present. In 1944 Negro speakers and writers have pointed with pride to the great reduction of illiteracy among them despite conditions which have made this difficult; to the fact that approximately 75,000 of them are in the various colleges and universities of the land; to the fact that they have developed skilled workers, artists, and professional people who have placed their talents and skills at the disposal of the people of the nation in business and labor, in social and political thinking, in moral and spiritual development—toward their better establishment and integration in our democratic life; and to the fact that they have developed strong organizations and excellent leadership by which they are guided into an appreciation of democratic idealism.

Most especially, this year, Negroes point with pride to the 100,000 of their number in the armed forces of the nation, in which they too share the casualties with satisfaction and sorrow, but without regret. Their home-front responsibilities, i.e., purchase of war bonds and war stamps as well as volunteer services, have been accepted and faithfully executed with good cheer, and beyond their normal ability.

These signs of progress, to their great surprise and to the consternation of their friends, have stimulated latent fear lest they move out of their so-called "place." The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People charges that newsreels showing Negroes in action in the war are cut and such portions are shown in "Negro" theaters only, while Negroes attending other theaters seldom, if ever, see members of their race in action except in labor battalions. Negro progress has been misinterpreted. The motive of Negro people in pressing forward is not to get *out* of place. On the contrary, it is to get *into* place. It is not to wrest from whites any control, whether government, economic, consanguine, or otherwise. It is a determination, not merely that they be allowed to enjoy the rights, privileges, and responsibilities guaranteed and imposed by the Constitution, but that America become a democracy in actuality; that fascism with its ideology of superracism and master-slave concept be defeated throughout the world; and that race as such be minimized only insofar as it may apply to genuine culture and noble achievement, upon the basis of which there shall be an integration of the peoples of America into the ideals and institutions and accomplishments of this nation. In this the minorities of America are agreed.

The writer was recently asked, by a person who had had opportunity to observe the attitudes of many Caucasians toward Negroes, to account for this attitude. Why are Negroes so promptly segregated and discriminated against? A ready answer might easily be: (a) the slave tradition in America, (b) failure properly to evaluate the Negro's contributions not only in proportion to his restricted opportunities but also in relation to their meaning to whole sections of this country as well as to the nation. George Washington Carver is but one example of this. Although his skill revolutionized and enriched the south-

ern states, and although he and other Negroes never materially benefited therefrom, attitudes toward him and his fellow Negro Americans never changed. Unfair judgments because of the actions of the less-privileged Negro and the feeling that Negroes have nothing of value to contribute to the social status of an individual or the economic and social welfare of the nation still persist.

Will there be conflicts between Negroes and whites in the period of demobilization? Present indications are that there may be. There is but little evidence to indicate that in that period there will have been sufficient change of attitude on the part of those who are determined to prevent Negroes from enjoying full participation in the democratic process to warrant any other answer. One of the darkest spots in the development of American life is that in eighty years, despite our claim to great achievements otherwise, we have failed to develop a program by which the causes of conflict between peoples of differing racial origins in America could be eliminated. We have been content to assume a *laissez-faire* attitude, to accept the phrase, "Rome was not built in a day," and to plead for "more time" and "patience." One of the chief offenders in this failure is the church, which has social construction as a major function, but which has left this important task largely in the hands of pressure groups and leftist movements. Not so in the early stages of religion. The chief concern of the minor prophets was the eradication of social evils for the welfare of the people! Not so either with the Christ, who said to His followers, "We must needs go through Samaria," and this without fear of contamination because of racial and religious attitudes!

There are symptoms, however, of a new order. Several groups, church and civic, are venturing to set up programs by which to create race friendliness and prevent conflict. It can safely be said that there is sincerity in these pro-

grams, that they are not merely ameliorative, that they look forward to permanent cooperation.

If there are to be racial conflicts between Negroes and whites, they will be in those social areas in which Negroes venture to achieve democratic ideals and in which whites persist in resisting their efforts—in which the methods of resistance are the traditional and still current methods of social control, segregation and discrimination. Dr. Charles Johnson has written an excellent book on this subject, *Patterns of Negro Segregation*, published by Harper & Brothers. Dr. E. S. Bogardus, in his review of this book in *Sociology and Social Research*, says:

To anyone who is accustomed to take matters of race segregation and discrimination lightly, this book will be an eye opener. To those who recognize the seriousness of segregation and discrimination, the book will still be an eye opener, for there is little realization even on the part of many students of racial problems of the great variety of ways in which the Negro is segregated from one region to another, from one state to another, from one city to another, and from one part of a city to another part of the same city.

There are many social areas in which conflict may be expected. Time does not permit enumeration of all of them. Mention is here made particularly of labor, housing, education, political participation, free intranation movement, and the attitude of peace officers and the daily press.

*Labor.* Recently a Fair Employment hearing, sponsored by the federal government, was held in Los Angeles. Evidence to the effect that Negroes were discriminated against in unions was presented. It appeared that Negroes could be employed only if they belonged to unions. The only basis upon which the unions would accept them was that they have lodges of their own. Such lodges were unofficial and therefore could not bargain. Union officials did not appear at the hearings, though summoned. Recently,

southern railroad officials informed the Fair Employment Practices Committee that it would not obey orders to upgrade Negro workers. Local street railway companies refuse to employ Negroes as conductors and motormen despite efficient performance and wholesome relations in other cities. Certain local business firms are employing the unfortunate "comical" Negro so that he may be discharged after the war.

*Housing.* Confinement to certain areas by "restrictive" clauses makes the housing problem very acute for Negroes and causes property prices and rent to be exorbitant.

*Education.* In the southern states inequalities in educational opportunities, facilities, and salaries exist. In Los Angeles every contrivance is used to confine Negroes to certain school districts.

*Political participation.* Negroes are denied participation in government in the southern states by the poll tax system and the grandfather clause. In California Negroes are excluded from public office either by refusal of appointment by those in authority, with a few exceptions, or by failure of election because of gerrymandering or accusation by the daily press of their being affiliated with leftist movements. Whether or not conflict will be encouraged by the coming Presidential election will depend upon the type of propaganda used to influence voting. There is every indication of the need of the type of government that will base its claims for existence upon the highest good to the largest number of people rather than subserviency to the few, whether they be bureaucrats or Fascist-minded persons who claim that the rights of states supersede the rights of the corporate will of the people of the nation.

*Free intranation movement.* Centers of war industry have appealed to Negroes because of good wages and improved economic and social conditions. There have been

mass movements of Negroes as well as whites. The Los Angeles *Times*, commenting editorially upon the report of the House Naval Affairs Committee in which migration of Negroes to Los Angeles was a major problem, said:

Items which certainly require Federal action are Federal Funds for sewage disposal, special consideration in gasoline and tire rations so autos can be used to overcome transportation shortages, redistribution of ration points to provide more food in restaurants for workers, granting of priorities for fire and police equipment, limiting of migration here, particularly of Negroes, by the War Manpower Commission.

*Police attitude.* In the recent Detroit riot some of the police set upon the Negro victims of the mob or exposed them to mob violence.

In the period of demobilization we shall be dealing with people who have given their all to prevent this nation from being enslaved by other nations. We shall be dealing with people who, if they did not die, with others fought that this nation be spared from saturation with the venom of fascism—the poison that blinds, that immobilizes men so that they become automatons in the hands of arch-enemies of freedom. It, therefore, is the responsibility of all to plan now to give to those who have sacrificed the only kind of America that is worthy of victory. This may well be accomplished by a determination that this nation shall be Christian and democratic in ideal and practice, and that the nation shall proceed upon the broad basis of the Christian motive and implementation that all men are created equal, that all shall have righteousness and justice, that in Christ's way lies the hope of mankind.

## COLLEGE TEACHERS EVALUATED BY STUDENTS

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● This study represents an attempt to obtain new light on what students consider to be good teaching under present social conditions. The writer has obtained from one hundred students in educational sociology what he believes to be significant data on this subject. He asked three specific questions of each student and then requested each to contribute a meaningful, frank, and explicit paragraph concerning "My Ideal University Teacher." The specific questions to which answers were sought were:

1. What are the traits associated with the best university teacher?
2. What traits are of highest frequency and how do they rank?
3. How do freshmen and seniors compare in ranking of major traits?

Table I classifies the traits according to frequency and rank.

TABLE I  
TRAITS IN BEST UNIVERSITY TEACHERS LIKED BY STUDENTS

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Rank</i>
1. <i>Sympathetic interest in students:</i> Understandable; easily approached for help; teaches students, not courses; interested in liabilities and assets of students; mutual sympathy; sympathetic adviser; human; close to his students; knows needs of students; good listener as well as good talker.	68	1
2. <i>Sense of proportion and humor:</i> Appealing humor; proper balance; attention device; variety a keynote; jokes and stories have a definite point.	52	2

	Frequency	Rank
3. <i>Knowledge of subject:</i> Authority in his subject; genius in his field; thorough information; wealth of knowledge; constantly increasing knowledge in his field; versatile in knowledge.	50	3
4. <i>Open-minded and progressive attitude:</i> Accepts criticism; willing to change methods to benefit students; alert for new developments or ideas; broad-minded.	28	4
5. <i>Stimulating intellectual imagination:</i> Source of stimulation; inspires spirit of investigation; inspires students to learn; disseminates his insatiable curiosity.	26	5
6. <i>Personality to put across subject:</i> Intelligent vivaciousness; dynamic; believes in his subject; able to express his ideas clearly.	24	5
7. <i>Ability to get along with students:</i> Treats students as persons individually; friendly, tactful approach to students in and out of the classroom.	23	7
8. <i>Ability in teaching and organizing subject matter:</i> Goals definitely in mind for both teacher and student; application to life situations; guides student in orderly channels; best methods adapted to course.	22	8
9. <i>Personal appearance:</i> Well dressed; neat; clean.	19	9
10. <i>Fairness and impartiality:</i> Corrects fairly all assigned work; retains respect through fair play; no favorites; reasonable and flexible demands.	18	10
11. <i>Knowledge in related fields and current events:</i> Improves through related reading and keeps up with current happenings; keeps abreast with current developments in his field and related fields.	15	11
12. <i>Self-reliance and confidence:</i> Emotionally stable; shows strength of will power; controls his temper; never abuses confidences.	13	12
13. <i>Strong character:</i> High morals; worthy ideals; dynamic character; living example of what he teaches and represents.	12	13
14. <i>Enthusiasm:</i> Able to pass his subject on to his students; possesses talent for interesting others.	11	14

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Rank</i>
15. <i>Recognizes his errors and limitations:</i> Acknowledges his limitations when occasions demand it; not too proud to admit he was wrong or to say honestly, "I don't know"; real humility for his limitations.	9	15
16. <i>Lives a religious life:</i> Sustaining faith; an intense fear of God.	8	16
17. <i>Good voice:</i> Clear, firm voice; pleasant and well modulated; not a dull monotone; voice and stance very important.	7	17.5
18. <i>Participates in activities:</i> Takes part in some college and community activities outside his specialty.	7	17.5
19. <i>Free from personal peculiarities:</i> Refrains from pacing the floor, yawning, or using hand gestures; avoids nervous jerks and monotonous word phrases; free from annoying and distracting mannerisms of speech and appearance.	6	19.5
20. <i>Successful and happy in his home:</i>	6	19.5
21. <i>Improvability:</i> Alert to professional work; passes along new findings to his classes.	5	21.5
22. <i>Recognizes his great responsibility:</i> Thinks about tomorrow; measures his success by the future of his students.	5	21.5
23. <i>Sincerity and honesty:</i> Intellectual honesty; integrity; not hypocritical.	4	23.5
24. <i>Upholds loyalties and standards of university:</i>	2	23.5
25. <i>Adaptability:</i> Master of any situation.	3	25
26. <i>A good and ready vocabulary:</i>	2	26
Total	447	

There follow four verbatim paragraphs which have been selected to give a fairly representative appraisal of "The Ideal University Teacher" according to each of the classes: freshman, sophomore, junior, and senior.

My ideal university professor would have the ability to instill in his students' minds the value of analyzing before accepting the material he presents. He would contribute to their philosophy of life something he has gained through his experiences. He would realize that his students

are just as "equal in the sight of God" as he is, and probably have some talents that he doesn't have. He would have as sincere an interest in his students as he would in his own child. The meat of his lectures would be tastefully seasoned with a dash of spice and a pinch of sage. He would keep posted on the modern trends in clothing as well as in education. Yes, my ideal university teacher would always wear an interesting tie beneath an equally interesting countenance.

Freshman; Major—Home Economics (Teaching)

The ideal university teacher is only an imaginary being—one which possesses every desirable human quality and trait, concrete or abstract. However, the worth of a man or woman as a university teacher can be evaluated in terms of these ideals. To begin with, a university teacher must be mentally alert and mentally moral. Confucius, the great Chinese philosopher, has said, "When you know a thing, hold that you know it, and when you do not know a thing, acknowledge your limitations when occasions demand it." A certain degree of impartiality towards all students is equally important. Thus the bond of faith between teacher and student can be tranquilly maintained. A college teacher will not content himself with the knowledge he has acquired in his undergraduate and graduate days. Time marches on, and the world changes with it, affording many opportunities for self-improvement in character and knowledge. An emotionally stable professor shows strength of will power. He determinedly represses his undesirable emotions and emanates his desirable qualities. In doing this he acquires poise and confidence, characteristics so desirable in college professors. The ideal teacher will practice his virtues off, as well as on, the campus. He acts as a source of stimulation and inspiration to his students; he is a beam of light in the midst of hundreds of mirrors which reflect his personality, his desirability, and his achievements.

Sophomore; Major—Civil Engineering

Walking easily into the classroom, my ideal teacher incites voluntary student interest. His sincere, contagious smile, concealing his momentary obsessions or biases, sets everyone at ease. Calling his class to order, he is not content to platitudinize, but begins in such an interesting manner that his class is never time-stretching. My ideal professor does not delve into confusing, unnecessary details for he believes that soon-forgotten facts motivate no reminiscence. His good background in his work colors his material, and his pleasant voice drives away sleep. In discussions my ideal professor refrains from responding to inaccurate answers with curt, disdainful remarks, nor does he boast of his ability. However, he is not

too lax or gullible, and he believes schools should not over-emphasize memorizing. Because he is always tactful, he has many friends.

Junior; Major—Science (Personnel)

My ideal college professor must be a young man. A man whose mind has not been dulled by years of teaching by rote memory. The professor's presentation must be both factually and theoretically complete as well as pleasantly vivid and thought-provoking. Frankness, an open and receptive mind, initiative and practical research should be encouraged in all cases. An undemocratic prejudice and bias against politics, races and religions should be discouraged by the impartial presentation of the facts of the subject in question. The professor should be a storehouse of sympathy and respect for everyday problems and conflicts of his students. A high sense of morals, cleanliness, pleasant manners, self-control, and an intense fear of God are necessary prerequisites for any ideal.

Senior; Major—Science (Prelaw)

The first ten traits ranked according to frequency in Table I were given to four groups for ranking. Group one included freshmen; groups two and three, sophomores and juniors; and group four, seniors.

There is close agreement of the four groups on ranking "knowledge of subject" as first and "ability in teaching and organizing subject matter" as second. "Ability to get along with students" has the widest difference in ranking of the four groups. The groups agree fairly well that "personal appearance" is least in rank of the ten traits. The four groups agree with the freshmen and the seniors represented in Table II that "knowledge of subject" is the most important trait, and that "personal appearance" is the least important trait. In comparing the freshman and senior rankings, the seniors stress "stimulating intellectual imagination" as a more important trait, and "personality to put across subject" as a less important trait. Both groups agree on the vital import of "ability in teaching and organizing subject matter." The freshmen consider "fairness and impartiality" more important than do the seniors.

TABLE II  
COMPARATIVE RANKINGS OF EIGHT BEST TRAITS  
IN THREE RECENT STUDIES

<i>Trait</i>	<i>Purdue University</i>	<i>Purdue University</i>	<i>Western Washing- ton College</i>	<i>New Jersey STC</i>
	<i>Fresh- men</i>	<i>Seniors</i>	<i>Fresh- men</i>	<i>Seniors</i>
1. Knowledge of subject matter.....	1	1	5	1
2. Personality to put course across.....	2	4	4	2
3. Fairness and impartiality.....	5	7	3	3
4. Ability in teaching and organization.....	3	3	1	4
5. Ability to get along with students.....	6	5	2	5
6. Sincerity and honesty.....	—	—	7	6
7. Sense of humor.....	8	9	6	7
8. Personal appearance.....	10	10	8	8

An analysis of Table II reveals some interesting points. The trait "sincerity and honesty" did not rank in the first ten most important traits. Two traits, "stimulating intellectual imagination" and "open-minded and progressive attitude," were included in the first ten traits ranked according to frequency in the Purdue study. Very likely, "sincerity and honesty" would correlate somewhat in meaning and interpretation with the two traits listed above in the Purdue study. The seniors in the New Jersey State Teachers College agree with Purdue freshmen and seniors in ranking "knowledge of subject matter" first. The four groups agree that "personal appearance" is of least importance. "Sense of humor" is low in rank by all groups.

This study indicates that "knowledge of subject matter" is considered highly important by all students. In most cases the groups of the three schools agree fairly well concerning the most desirable traits of the best teacher. Defi-

nition and clarification of traits would improve the study. Appearance of teachers receives increasing emphasis, and yet students rank it very low; not one student ranked it first or second. Freshmen rank "personality" of the teacher higher than the seniors, but the seniors rank "stimulating intellectual imagination" much higher than freshmen do.

It is interesting to compare the findings of this study with some of the literature and research in the field of effective teaching. Good teachers are more important than school buildings. Teachers are not born but made. There is adequate, objective evidence to indicate that personality can be cultivated and developed. Some general traits of good teaching gleaned from reading the literature in the field and observing good teaching practice may be summarized as follows: (1) a broad mastery of the subject to be taught, (2) a sympathetic appreciation of the problems and efforts of the students, (3) enthusiasm, (4) a stimulating personality, (5) energy, (6) character. Consistent planning also improves the teaching situation. The failure to plan is a common cause of poor teaching at any educational level.

Observable characteristics of the best university teachers include personality, knowledge of subject matter, and methodology. The criteria for academic appointments include teaching ability, research ability, desirable personal qualities, and in some cases demonstrated administrative capacity.<sup>1</sup> Too many teachers affect students by a lack of optimism and enthusiasm, which Carlyle fittingly describes: "My school master, a downbent, brokenhearted, underfoot martyr, as others of that guild are, did little for me except discover that he could do little." An inspiring personality is remembered better than the course content. The thought needs a new emphasis: in teaching,

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<sup>1</sup> L. S. Woodburne, "An Administrative Responsibility," *The Journal of Higher Education*, March, 1943, p. 134.

personality is the chief source of influence of the school. Cubberley and Eels thus emphasize the value of personality in teaching:

So vital are the personal qualities that a prominent executive has recently declared that, in all his experience, he has never known a success in teaching that could not be accounted for on scholarship and professional training alone, or a failure that could not be attributed to other grounds. Some teachers are popular, successful, and wanted by all who know them, while others, equally well educated and trained and experienced, are failures and wanted nowhere. The one word which covers these differences is personality.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> E. P. Cubberley and W. C. Eels, *An Introduction to the Study of Education*, p. 130.

## IMMIGRATION QUOTA FOR INDIA

EMORY S. BOGARDUS  
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● A bill has been introduced into the Congress of the United States that places India on the quota list for immigration. The bill also makes provision for naturalization of East Indians in the United States. Both provisions are similar to those in the bill that became a law on December 17, 1943, whereby Chinese might enter the United States for permanent residence and ultimate naturalization.

According to the proposed plan the quota for East Indians would be somewhere between 75 and 100 persons a year. This number would be carefully selected and would represent desirable entrants. These immigrants would have to pass muster with reference to health and physical conditions. They would be persons not likely to become dependents. They would possess satisfactory character records.

The arguments that are given in favor of the passage of this immigration and naturalization bill are somewhat similar to those advanced last year when the Chinese immigration and naturalization bill was before the Congress. First, the people of India represent an old, stable, and important division of the human race. When afforded opportunity they rank as high intellectually as any other section of mankind. They are a proud people. They have made outstanding contributions to human thought and philosophy.

Second, to debar them as the United States does today is to label them as inferior. Their leaders and educated classes feel that they have been degraded by being excluded. Many of them resent the assumption that the people of the United States are superior and that they are inferior.

Since people, for example, from Africa are eligible to admission to the United States and to naturalization, why should the best people of India, they inquire, be denied the same privileges? Why are we, they want to know, discriminated against by a powerful country like the United States? Why must we as a people, they insist, be banned, labeled undesirable, and feel the sting of discrimination?

Third, if the United States is to continue in a position of leadership among the nations in postwar days, she needs to put herself in as fair a light as possible before the peoples of both the Orient and the Occident. The proposed law would increase the respect of 375 million people for the United States. If Caucasians, who are in the minority, are to command the respect and the good will of people of the world who represent a majority—yes, two thirds of the human race—they will leave no stone unturned which will make for racial justice and fair play.

Fourth, this legislation would aid India in her effort to become an independent nation. For years she has struggled for status, but the failure of the United States to recognize her people as desirable citizens of the United States has been deplored by her leaders. To give her an immigration and naturalization status would help her in her long struggle for independence.

Fifth, the proposed law would help to implement the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms, as far as the United States is concerned. It would give evidence that the leading democracy of the Western Hemisphere, like other democratic nations, wishes to make its sermons about democracy ring true. It would indicate that the United States is moving out of its isolationism and developing a world outlook, and is developing a feeling for world democracy.

Sixth, to give India a place on the immigration and naturalization lists of the United States is to repudiate in

deeds as well as in words the Nazi doctrine of racism and the equally unscientific Nazi belief in "blood and soil." The proposed legislation supports the scientific findings that there is but one race, namely, the human race, and that the best in all divisions of mankind are on a plane of spiritual equality. The proposal means that the United States is growing out of a provincial outlook into a recognition of human worth the world around.

The objections to putting India on the quota and to extending naturalization privileges to immigrants from that country are limited to a narrow national outlook, and to a racism that smacks of holier-than-thou attitudes. They are related to false conceptions of what is involved in the assertion that the United States cannot afford to be overrun by the lower classes of India. All such statements show a lack of understanding of the selective quality of the proposed law and of the restriction to a number between 75 and 100 persons a year. In a nation of 135,000,000 individuals, the addition of 100 a year will not constitute an overwhelming occupational competition. The contention that, if this bill is passed, the United States will have to go still further and extend similar privileges to other nationals not now included is disturbing some people. Such a procedure is of course likely, but it will come only in the course of time. Moreover, this fear is based only on a total addition of a few hundred people a year at most. Even such a number would scarcely be noticeable in a nation as large as the United States. Some people object to East Indian immigration because it would be composed of persons of Hindu faith and because "Hindus have no place in Christian United States." But the fallacies in this argument are obvious, especially in view of American emphasis on freedom of religion. People from India did not seek to come to the United States until about 1900. Some immigrated first to British

Columbia, and then came down the Pacific Coast. By 1906 the annual figures exceeded 1,000, but no law was passed at that time against the immigration of East Indians to the United States.

However, an unusually strict interpretation of the immigration laws already on the statute books was made. By virtue of the low industrial status of the Hindus and of the obvious difficulties which they experienced in obtaining steady employment, it appeared that many would soon need to receive public aid. It was decided by the immigration officials that the East Indian immigrants came within the scope of the clause, "liable to become a public charge," and hence nearly all were debarred. Consequently, immigration from India practically ceased.

In the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917, a "barred zone" provision was included. According to this regulation natives from a barred zone that includes India shall not be admitted to the United States. A few exceptions are made, for example, in the case of government officials, travelers, and certain professional persons.

The barred zone is a region in the Orient which is designated in terms of latitude and longitude. Geographically it includes the areas occupied by India, Siam, Indo-China, parts of Siberia, Afghanistan, and Arabia, and islands, such as Borneo, Java, Sumatra, New Guinea. This method of prohibiting immigration serves the purpose for which it was intended. In a realistic human sense it is unsatisfactory. Its implications are undemocratic, unsocial, and un-American. A better method than passing adverse judgments on peoples in a geographic way would be to set the standards high for admission on points such as personality and possibilities of becoming helpful citizens, supplemented if deemed necessary by quota limitations evenly applied to the various national groups of the world. The legislation proposed today regarding India would correct an obvious fault.

When the East Indian has applied in the past for citizenship, the courts in the United States have disagreed over the question of racial origin. Many East Indians have claimed to be members of "the white race" and hence admissible. But if not of "the white race" or of African descent, they are ineligible to naturalization according to the laws of the United States. The bill now pending before Congress would clear up this situation and put the immigrant from India upon his merits and potential citizenship possibilities, and it would erase the unwholesome mark of discrimination against able candidates for citizenship.

The plan of the United States to offer India limited immigration and naturalization rights comes at a vital moment. It would assist in putting the United States in a new favorable light before one fifth of the world's population. It would set a democratic example for the world to consider. It would help to undermine the propaganda of the Nazis and the Japanese that the United States is fighting a racial war. It would help to make the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter ring true. The costs would be relatively small in the light of the gains that would accrue to the cause of good will and human justice.

## PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES

### *Pacific Sociological Society*

The spring meeting of the Northern Division of the Pacific Sociological Society was held at Reed College, Portland, Oregon, on May 12 and 13. That the international situation influenced the emphasis is evidenced by the subjects of the papers presented, such as "The Japanese-American Students in the Crisis" by Robert O'Brien, "Some Social-Psychological Aspects of Hitler's Rise to Power" by Lawrence Bee, "International Understanding and Attitude of College Students" by Fred R. Yoder, and "Army Thought and Control" by Marvin R. Schafer. Norman S. Hayner discussed "Mexico City: Its Growth and Configuration." Samuel H. Jameson presented a paper on "Laws of Social Interaction"; and William E. Lawrence, plant ecologist, dealt with "The Language of Ecology in Relation to Human Sociology." A large proportion of the membership of the Society in the area was present.

### *Pomona College*

Drs. William Kirk and Ray Baber will remain on the campus during the summer, offering courses on "Race Relations" and "Theories of Social Reformers" as well as introductory courses in sociology.

### *Occidental College*

Dr. George Day has devoted a course on "Comparative Social Institutions" mainly to institutions in Russia, designed particularly for naval trainees. Marines and Navy men are registering extensively also in other sociology courses.

### *Whittier College*

Dr. Charles B. Spaulding, professor of economics and sociology, is continuing as registrar as well as chairman of the Department of Economics and Sociology during the coming year. Mr. Harry Henderson is offering several courses, and Mr. Gustav White is teaching courses in counseling. The latter is devoting considerable time to private counseling and to work with the Vocational Rehabilitation Bureau of the State Department of Education.

### *Oregon State College*

Dr. Glenn A. Bakkum, who gave full time to the Army Student Training Program as director of the Language and Area Group until the program was discontinued, is again teaching sociology courses. He will be at Iowa State College for the summer of this year. Professor Robert H. Dann reports that the sociology students at Oregon State College are very largely women, especially since the discontinuance of the Army program, but that the total enrollment has been gratifying.

*Brigham Young University*

Professor Ariel S. Ballif is making a study of "Social Effects of Relief Programs on the Rural Population of Utah County, Utah." He expects to complete this study by the end of the summer and to prepare the material for a doctoral thesis at The University of Southern California. Professor Harold T. Christensen will teach in the summer school. Karl M. Wallace, a graduate student who completed the M.S. degree in the spring, has accepted a fellowship at the University of Minnesota for the coming year; and Arthur E. Babbel has accepted a fellowship at the University of Wisconsin.

*The University of Southern California*

The Sociology Club, in its semimonthly meetings, focused attention during the past semester upon the values of sociology to the student. Dr. Emory S. Bogardus started the series by giving the history of sociology in The University of Southern California, noting particularly the establishment of the Department of Sociology, the *Journal of Sociology and Social Research* and other publications, the creation of the School of Social Work, the founding of Alpha Kappa Delta, and the additions to the staff. This was followed by a panel discussion led by Dr. Bessie A. McClenahan and by former students Cecil Larsen and Catherine Wahlstrom, indicating how sociology helped them in their professional careers. Next, the students themselves conducted a discussion on the values of sociology to them personally. The last meeting of the series was in the form of a quiz program. This time the students quizzed the staff members on the latest developments of sociology.

*Additional Sociological Notes*

Dr. Charles A. Ellwood, professor of sociology in Duke University, after forty-five years of teaching university classes in sociology is retiring in June. After receiving his doctor's degree in sociology at the University of Chicago in 1899, he began teaching sociology as an instructor that year in the University of Nebraska. The next year he was called to the newly created Department of Sociology at the University of Missouri, where he remained for thirty years, but finally accepted the invitation to organize a Department of Sociology at Duke University in 1930, where he has been teaching for the past fourteen years. Professor Howard E. Jensen will be the chairman of the Department of Sociology at Duke next year.

Dr. Ellwood has written a dozen well-known books in sociology, social psychology, religion, and social theory; and has contributed more than a hundred articles to scientific periodicals. Six of his books have been translated into foreign languages, mostly Chinese, Japanese, and German. *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, originally published in 1910, and with a recent revision in 1943, entitled *Sociology: Principles and Problems*, has had the widest sale, with over 300,000 copies sold to date. In

addition to his work in the above-mentioned universities, he has been a visiting professor for seventeen summers in ten different universities and has lectured in two other universities. He is a member of numerous scientific and honorary societies, some of which are foreign organizations, and has been president of three of these. In 1924 he was honored by being elected president of the American Sociological Society, and in 1935 he was chosen president of the International Institute of Sociology (Geneva).

## RACES AND CULTURE

**GRANDMOTHER DRIVES SOUTH.** By CONSTANCE JORDAN HENLEY. New York: The John Day Company, 1943, pp. x+276.

In a station wagon the author and her nephew drove south from Rio de Janeiro to Puntas Arenas and Ushuaia, the southernmost cities in the world. The journey continued by car up the west coast in Chile, through northern Argentina, and across Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Central American countries, and Mexico. In presenting an account of this round trip the author gives an insight into many of the culture patterns of the people, particularly of South America. Her account reveals that the International Highway is far from completion.

**MEET THE NEGRO.** By KARL E. DOWNS. Pasadena, California: Login Press, 1943, pp. 179.

The author, who has recently been installed as president of Samuel Huston College, has prepared short but original and illuminating sketches, each being two or three printed pages in length, concerning about sixty Negro leaders. These men and women have been selected from all walks of life and, taken together, indicate real achievement of a high order. The names include: Marian Anderson, Dorothy Maynor, William Grant Still, Langston Hughes, Paul Robeson, Joe Louis, and others whose careers are also reviewed in Embree's recent *13 Against the Odds*. In addition, there are persons, such as A. Clayton Powell, Howard Thurman, Hall Johnson, Floyd Covington, Paul R. Williams, Jesse Owens, Lena Horne, and so on, concerning whom brief sketches are given. Pertinent and significant biographical facts are presented, and a telling introduction by E. Stanley Jones is an added feature. The publication of the book is sponsored by the Methodist Youth Fellowship of the Southern California-Arizona Conference. The materials are in the main well chosen, but leave the reader wishing that in many instances a much more extended biography could have been given.

**THE INDIAN IN AMERICAN LIFE.** By G. E. E. LINDQUIST. New York: Friendship Press, 1944, pp. xi+180.

The Foreword is written by Mark A. Dawber, executive secretary of the Home Missions Council of North America. Included are a chapter on "Cultural Backgrounds" by Erna Gunther and one on "Indian-White Relations" by Flora Warren. The point of view is sympathetic with the struggles and needs of the Indians in the United States and Canada, and particularly with the work and aims of Protestant Christian education. The viewpoint is favorable to the assimilation of the Indian into modern "civilization" and is not favorable to the development of the Indian's culture as such, or to the current underlying policy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. A great deal is made of the idea of "civilizing" the Indian.

**PEOPLES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA.** By BRUNO LASKER. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944, pp. 288.

The author would have his readers view the 150,000,000 people of southeast Asia, not as expressions of ancient tradition and not as children, but as human beings undergoing many and rapid changes and as "fellow workers in the building of a free world." He views them with no colonial or imperialistic or superior air, but as peoples who need guidance—for their own sake and for humanity's sake. Like the rest of us, the Filipinos, Javanese, Ambonese, Indo-Chinese, Burmans, and all the others are entering upon "a new era of international, interracial, and intercultural collaboration"; and the author wisely gives himself to an analysis of "the dynamic of inward growth." The transitions that are going on in forests and fields, among the small-scale tillers of the soil and the merchant farmers, the craftsmen and the artists, the tradesmen and the colonists, the old and the young—these are described in some detail. The fires of discontent are burning in southeast Asia and new wants are being experienced. The "unchanging East" is changing rapidly. Many separate nativist-nationalist movements are springing into being, but the author wonders if it is necessary that southeast Asians go through all the travail involved in nationalism. He suggests that it might be wise if they could by-pass the nationalistic stage and develop an interregional collaboration. Some way is needed to prevent the ghosts of national selfishness from popping "out of every imperial cupboard." Strong interregional economic councils and interregional cultural councils are suggested. The proposal will bear further examination and development. Excellent as is the book, it will not be read by large numbers of persons unless it is introduced by a descriptive account, accompanied by maps, of each of the occupied areas that are here so understandingly treated. Perhaps we can help the peoples of southeast Asia; they are "our comrades in the new world order," and "we need their help to build a better world."

E.S.B.

**ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE NEGRO.** By HERBERT R. NORTHRUP.  
New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944, pp. xviii+312.

In making an impartial study of the effect of labor unions upon the welfare of the Negro, the author has marshaled a large number of facts about the situation in each of several important fields of labor, namely, the building trades, the railroads, the tobacco industry, clothing industry, laundries, the longshoreman field, coal mining, iron and steel industry, automobile manufacturing, shipbuilding, and aircraft.

Variations in union policy are discussed. These variations differ according to (1) the industrial environment, (2) the philosophy of the union and of its leaders, (3) the availability of labor (attitudes are more liberal when labor is scarce), (4) the degree of national union control over the local union, and (5) the racial policies of rival unions (p. 232). The author advocates "public control of certain labor union practices" and also control of management's freedom in a similar manner. He would prevent, if possible, the practice of some employers of injecting the race issue into labor disputes. He supports the proposal of Carey McWilliams for a Fair Racial Practice Act, and other measures that would cut down discrimination against Negroes. He concludes that the trend of unionization favors Negroes. Extensive notes are added to each chapter and selected bibliographies are presented. The volume is a real contribution to an understanding of race relations as affected by occupation. E.S.B.

**BEHIND THE OPEN DOOR.** By FOSTER RHEA DULLES. New York: American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1944, pp. 92.

[Here is a carefully written racial document designed for use in the schools. There are seven brief units, including questions for discussion at the end of each unit, which trace the rise of Japanese military authority in the Orient.] The concluding chapter on "The Problems of the Future Peace" is of unusual importance.

**NEGRO YOUTH IN CITY Y.M.C.A.'s.** A Study of Y.M.C.A. Services among Negro Youth in Urban Communities. New York: National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations, 1944, pp. 80.

In this fact-finding study data are presented on the degree to which Y.M.C.A.'s are meeting their responsibilities regarding the Negro in the various urban communities in which the Y.M.C.A. maintains a program and to study areas of tension in order to see what may be done about them. The associations face a difficult problem "in which the bearing of the Christian ideal in its democratic relationship and ultimate implication must be squared with the established community pattern" of segregation and discrimination of many kinds. In studying 348 communities, the investigating committee found the most segregation in connection with

(1) hotels, (2) housing (public), (3) restaurants, (4) churches, (5) hospitals, (6) labor unions, (7) movies, (8) schools, (9) busses. Unfavorable relationships are developing between white and colored people, particularly in the fields of housing, unemployment, transportation, school facilities, recreational facilities, and labor union activity. Special aids in developing better relationships are found in (1) community centers for Negroes, (2) school programs of an interracial nature, and (3) interracial councils and committees. In reconciling the urgency to meet overwhelming racial conflicts and the need to rely upon the slow method of education in changing attitudes, the investigating committee recommends that the associations need to know their own communities and the needs of Negroes in these communities, to determine "what is basically right according to their avowed ideal, and to work "toward adjustments in advance of public opinion."

## SOCIAL WELFARE

**THE PROBLEM OF CHANGING FOOD HABITS.** *Bulletin of the National Research Council No. 108. Washington, D.C.: National Research Council, National Academy of Sciences, October, 1943, pp. 177.*

Reading this report of the Committee on Food Habits becomes an interesting adventure in a field of culture not too much explored. Everyone eats, but the implication of the report convinces one that no one knows everything about it and that a great majority of eaters know nothing more than that they eat to live or live to eat. This report of a scientific investigation may be the beginning of more enlightenment on the whole question of food production, distribution, and consumption. The Committee on Food Habits came into being late in 1940 and held its first meeting on January 3, 1941. Its practical program of action undertook to find out what were the major weaknesses and deficiencies in the national dietary habits and the causes thereof, and what should be done for the poor-diet groups to enable them to bring their dietary habits into conformity with dietary needs. Early in 1942 the Committee was reorganized and anthropologist Dr. Margaret Mead became its executive secretary. The various reports of the subcommittees range all the way from a study of the forces behind food habits and methods of change to a study of the effect of odd work shifts upon the food habits of war workers. Dr. Mead believes that the "long-time task is to alter American food habits so that they are based upon tradition which embodies science and to do so in such a way that food habits at any period are sufficiently flexible to yield readily to new scientific findings." Clearly indicated is the relationship between the various other cultural patterns and the food patterns.

M.J.V.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CHILD GUIDANCE. Edited by RALPH B. WINN.  
New York: The Philosophical Library, 1943, pp. xvi+456.

Dr. Winn has done an excellent piece of work in his selection of topics and of authorities to write informative statements upon these topics, which range alphabetically from "ability" to "wishful thinking." The contributors include many eminent scholars: Andras Angyal, Ada H. Arlitt, Ruth Benedict, Bernard Glueck, Paul Popenoe, William S. Sadler, Percival M. Symonds, Louis P. Thorpe, and John E. W. Wallin. As may reasonably be expected, child psychologists and educators are numerous. Medical practice also is well represented. More emphasis is needed on the sociological approach, on the viewpoint of the family as a social institution, on the roles of the neighborhood and community, on socialization and other social processes. Further attention might have been given to culture concepts and likewise to "field theory" in the interpretation of children's behavior.

Despite the array of scholars, the materials are written in a style understandable by parents and other members of the general public. Teachers will find the *Encyclopedia* especially helpful in their daily relationships with pupils. A helpful use is made of cross references, and numerous but brief references to appropriate articles and books are made. The printing and the binding show wartime limitations.

DER FUEHRER. *Hitler's Rise to Power.* By KONRAD HEIDEN. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1944, pp. viii+788.

Adolf with the torn personality, Adolf with an association of inferiority and strength, Adolf with a fear that a murderer lurks at every corner, Adolf with an inner kinship to disintegration and decay, Adolf with a voice howling like a siren betokening inexorable danger—here he is with all these attributes within the covers of this provokingly interesting biography. Heiden has written this long story to show how it was that such a strange admixture known to the world as Adolf Hitler came into power.

And a fascinating story it turns out to be. The story of a man who was able to seize domination by underlining the depths of German despair and ruin is slowly unfolded. Part of his rise is explained by the fight which he made for the perpetuation of chaos and blackest midnight. Only through this device could a little man with elephantine ambitions be caught in the shadows as a savior. The author knew Hitler in his earliest Munich days when he crept slyly and doggedly along the back alleys and dark streets, clad in a worn Jewish caftan and cap. He began to study him as soon as he first gave signs of showing power over the distressed idlers and armed outlaws who were later to become his first army of

supporters. The man's vaulting ambition and vanity caused him to sense that he really could lead these defiers of law and order and so overcome a sense of frustration. This would be the beginning of his revenge against a society which had ignored him. And so Heiden with this material at hand begins to unfold a great tragic drama of a man grown shrewd, ruthless, cunning, and inexorable in his determination to domineer.

Hitler's character is not easily assayed—a character at times weak and vacillating and yet able to escape suddenly into realms of dynamic force and even greatness. This chameleonlike quality provides the proper air laden with sinister mysteriousness which surrounds him and causes wonderment and misunderstanding among those who are unacquainted with leadership principles. This book gives as clear a picture as can be caught currently of an elusive, treacherous, and dangerous figure in world history.

M.J.V.

**EARNINGS AND SOCIAL SECURITY IN THE UNITED STATES.** By W. S. WOYTINSKY. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1943, pp. xiii+260.

This work carefully examines the wage and income trends in the United States for the purpose of relating them to the development of our social security system. It is divided into three main parts, dealing with Taxable Wages in the National Income, Structure of Wages, Wage Trends and Social Security.

The study reveals a wide range of wages in this country but a general trend upward during the last one hundred years. Wage rates by states rank Michigan and New York at the top and South Carolina and Mississippi at the bottom. In their relation to wages, the benefits payable under our old-age benefit system are matters of extreme importance. At the close of 1941 the monthly average primary benefit paid was \$22.70. The figure in the low-wage states, owing to the method of computing benefits, was nearly as large as in the high-wage states. Eventually, this average will increase somewhat. However, a continuing increase in wage rates is necessary to give our insurance system the vitality that it needs.

The work bristles with tables and charts, every effort being made to present the material in graphic form. The purpose is to acquaint the special students of wages and wage rates with the facts necessary to guide legislators in making amendments to our social security laws. Much of the statistical material gathered by the writer has been published separately. Although the study was sponsored by the Social Science Research Council, the conclusions are those of the author. For the benefit of the more exacting student, a chapter of the book and parts of the appendix deal with statistical method.

G.B.M.

**MENTAL HYGIENE.** *The Psychology of Personal Adjustment.* By D. B. KLEIN. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1944, pp. xi+498.

The relation of the secondary title to the main title is interesting, indicating as it does a major conception of the nature of mental hygiene. The first two thirds of the book is devoted to the nature of mental disease and to methods of preventing mental disease. The remainder is taken up with methods for promoting mental health.

Mental disorders are analyzed under two headings, structural and functional, and the prophylactic suggestions are naturally made in connection with the same twofold division. The best and latest consideration of mental disturbances is presented. A common-sense viewpoint is not sacrificed to fadist views. A psychiatric approach is maintained.

In the part dealing with mental health, the author discusses the relation of the home to a balanced personality, the dynamics of conscience, coping with reality (as it impinges upon the ego), mammon versus morale (the relation of poverty to mental breakdown), and educating for mental hygiene. A somewhat unique chapter is called "Self-Emancipation by Repression." A person may decide what impulses he will repress, chiefly by responding to other impulses. There "can be no personal freedom without an effective technique of repression," and intelligent repression is "the instrument of enlightened personal freedom."

**THEY WORK FOR TOMORROW.** By ROBERT M. BARTLETT. New York: Association Press and Fleming H. Revell Company, 1943, pp. vi+144.

The author has followed a systematic procedure of interviewing a number of leaders in the United States; he has obtained from each a brief sketch of his life, particularly the early, explanatory phases of his life, and then has secured from each a statement of a part of his basic thinking concerning the problems of the world today and of the way out or onward. Two women and twelve men have been included in this presentation of a "cross-section of America's leadership today." The list includes Pearl Buck and Gladys Talbott Edwards (of Farmers' Union and co-operative fame), and Wendell Willkie, Igor Sikorsky, Henry W. Wallace, Mordecai Johnson, Phillip Murray, Herbert Lehman, William Kilpatrick, and others. Each "biography" covers only about ten pages, but makes good use of the space. Most of the ideas have a forward look. Some are startling, such as Kilpatrick's statement that "The greatest single danger in the world to the cause of peace is the American Senate." Will it pull out of world collaboration and cooperation again, as it did after World War I? This is but one of the problems that trouble the world of forward-thinking people and that are treated in *They Work for Tomorrow*.

**GROUP WORK AND THE SOCIAL SCENE TODAY, 1943.** *Proceedings of the American Association for the Study of Group Work.* New York: Association Press, 1944, pp. 96.

The 1943 *Proceedings* of the American Association for the Study of Group Work is the most significant group work publication of the year. Social workers in group work were disappointed to discover that the 1943 *Proceedings* of the National Conference of Social Work did not contain any group work papers. The A.A.S.G.W. volume thus becomes the sole national record of group work in the war year of 1943. "Must" is a strong word in connection with a book; however, this is truly a "must" for group workers.

Two thirds of the volume is devoted to selected papers drawn from various social work conferences, held in New York, St. Louis, and Los Angeles. California group workers can take pride in the fact that three of the leading papers are from the 1943 California Conference of Social Work, Group Work Section. Group work and the social scene, group work goals and methods in wartime, children and youth needs, volunteer training, minority groups, clinical group work, and postwar responsibilities of group work are included. A high standard of usefulness characterizes the papers, all of which will be helpful in our day-to-day work. Among the annual reports it is likely that the report of the chairman and the statement of the committee on professional education will be most widely read and discussed.

As this volume takes its place alongside the previous six reports, it becomes apparent that the American Association for the Study of Group Work has been and will continue to be a major avenue of professional stimulation and development.

HARLEIGH B. TRECKER

**FREDERICK BOHN FISHER, WORLD CITIZEN.** By WELTHY HONSINGER FISHER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944, pp. viii+257.

Personality is always an interesting study, but a person with zeal and courage who roams far and wide challenging outworn systems is a superior source of inquiry. Bishop Fisher had a far-flung personality. Elected a bishop at 38, he resigned at 48 because he could not bear the restrictions of ecclesiastical authority. He felt that he was pulled more by a sense of "some far-off and expected event in the future than of being pushed from inherited tendencies or drives." Here was a man whose imagination led him on into new and more striking fields of useful endeavor. He became a champion of the rights of the people of India. He developed a wide tolerance "of all cultures and religions in preparation for future world cooperation." Rarely is a biography told so fascinatingly as is this one by Mrs. Fisher.

**PLENTY OF PEOPLE.** By WARREN S. THOMPSON. Lancaster, Pennsylvania: The Jaques Cattell Press, 1944, pp. x+246.

The subject of population does not appeal to the average citizen. Therefore, the author does well in discussing population problems in everyday terms. He describes the growth of the population of the world since 1800, the birth rate, the death rate, war and population growth, the future population of nations, the distribution of population by migration, and population policies.

The author contends that there can be "no hope of ever stabilizing the relations between nations and peoples" for long "if population growth is to remain uncontrolled in any considerable part of the world while it is controlled" elsewhere. He urges birth control for all the world and states that a decent living throughout the world means that birth rates must remain at about one third of their physiological maximum.

Another conclusion is that "Europeans must relinquish much of their exclusiveness in their control over the unused portions of the world." Again, it is insisted that better than extending the program of sterilizing and segregating degenerates would be the removal of "social conditions which make degeneracy." Dr. Thompson would not try to bring "all minorities into complete conformity with the majority in beliefs" but would develop "a broader tolerance of differences so that only a very few points of general conformity would be needed to assure essential unity in national groups." The book bristles with significant population facts and advances stimulating conclusions.

E.S.B.

**COOPERATIVES IN AMERICA.** *Their Past, Present, and Future.* Revised Edition. By ELLIS COWLING. Coward-McCann, Inc., 1943, pp. x+206.

The author, who is director of publicity and education of the Consumers' Cooperative Services, Inc., of New York, has introduced recent figures into the first edition and made minor changes. The book deals with the history of the cooperative movement, particularly in Europe, as a background for a treatment of the development of cooperatives in the United States. In addition to factual data, the book contains a number of searching generalizations.

The author emphasizes the importance of making "our system of distributing goods as efficient as our methods of production." He contrasts capitalism, which tends to concentrate wealth and which develops a gap between rich and poor, with cooperation, which "makes for widely distributed ownership of property" and "for the preservation of political and social democracy." Cooperation seeks "to resolve the conflict between producers by uniting them as consumers, and to develop an economic brotherhood where monopolies and cartels have no place but where economic control is widely distributed among the people."

## SOCIAL THEORY

**GAUGING PUBLIC OPINION.** By HADLEY CANTRIL. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1944, pp. xix+318.

The reader of *The Pulse of Democracy* by Gallup and Rae will find in this book a report on the development in methods of measuring public opinion that has occurred in the last five years. Research in "gauging public opinion" has been extensive, but it has not yet made headway in explaining the nature of public opinion, in finding out what its determinants are, or in getting at the motivation behind its formation.

This interesting study discusses the problems involved in the wording of interview questions, in the value of secret versus nonsecret ballots, in the biases of interviews, in making adequate samples of people, in the use of "breakdowns," in education versus economic status as determinants of opinion, and in the measurement of civilian morale. The study brings out many unsuspected difficulties in obtaining accuracy in a public opinion poll, but it also shows that progress is being made in eliminating possible errors. Other errors remain to be corrected. The author suggests that interviewing in small towns and rural areas should be done by persons from large cities, without indicating that rural people are likely to be suspicious of the well-dressed stranger from the big city. The tridimensional division of morale into "reasoned determination to achieve the objective, confidence in leaders, and satisfaction with traditional values" calls for further examination. The chapter on trends in public opinion gives seventeen challenging conclusions, for example, opinion is generally determined more by events than by words, or, once self-interest is involved, opinion is not easily changed. A brief but vital bibliography is attached. It is to be hoped that *Gauging Public Opinion* will be followed by analyses of the public opinion process.

E.S.B.

**DICTIONARY OF SOCIOLOGY.** Edited by HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD. New York: Philosophical Library, 1944, pp. 342.

To prepare a pioneer dictionary of a science is an ambitious undertaking. Sociology has suffered because of the lack of a systematic compilation of uniformly defined basic concepts. This first dictionary of the science of sociology meets a vital need. Dr. Fairchild and the associate, advisory, and contributing editors, nearly one hundred in all, selected and defined approximately 3,600 terms. As the editor states in the preface, "every science must have its special vocabulary or terminology. Science deals with ideas, thoughts, and concepts, and these must be expressed in words." He further states that a dictionary has two main purposes, "first to consolidate and standardize the existing uniformities of linguistic

usage, and second, to establish new uniformities and precisions by selecting for authoritative support one or more of various meanings currently assigned to a given word or phrase."

Most users of this dictionary will probably agree that the major sociological concepts are defined with a reasonable degree of clarity and precision, although they may not agree as to the emphasis and phraseology in all instances. One can discern a considerable uniformity and unity of treatment, which were made possible largely because the editor carefully prepared suggestions for the benefit of the contributing editors before the assignments were made. For the most part, illustrative quotations, references to writers and authorities, historical accounts, and etymological derivations are omitted from the definitions. The volume is not an encyclopaedic treatment. With few exceptions an economy of words was practiced throughout.

Some may question the desirability of including certain terms. Others may object to the brevity or the length of some of the definitions. Obviously, with so many contributors it is difficult to achieve complete uniformity of emphasis. The length of the descriptive statement is not necessarily a true index of the value of the concept, or of the difficulties involved in defining it. The sociological significance and the usefulness of the definitions are the important things to consider. Not all of the terms included in the volume are sociological concepts. Some are only remotely related to the field. Sociology, of course, overlaps several other specialized fields: notably, anthropology, economics, history, political science, psychology, social work, and statistics. It is to be noted also that many of the sociological concepts are not single words, but phrases of two or more words.

M.H.N.

**PSYCHOLOGY THROUGH LITERATURE.** *An Anthology.* Edited by CAROLINE SHRODES, JUSTINE VAN GUNDY, and RICHARD W. HUSBAND. New York: Oxford University Press, 1943, pp. xi+389.

With selections ranging all the way from Shakespeare, Flaubert, and Dostoevski, down through Romain Rolland, Louis Bromfield, and Willa Cather, the editors of this book have most successfully demonstrated that many prominent aspects and facts of modern psychology may be presented by means of literary materials. While this has been done before, the manner of presentation adopted here succeeds in making the book a lively adventure. The selections are grouped under two general headings, namely, "The Formation of Personality" and "Adjustment and Maladjustment of the Personality." Under the former, heredity, environmental influences and pressures, emotional conflicts, and the learning process have

been grouped, while under the latter, dreams and the unconscious, the neuroses, and the psychoses have found their place. The purpose of the anthology, to bestow a better comprehension of human motivation and behavior "through the vicarious experience that literature affords," has been admirably accomplished through the wise selectivity. The selections have been chosen with nice discrimination and bolster the sociological claim of Cooley that the artist is one who has a deeper insight into the common experiences of life than others. The editors, contrasting the scientist with the artist, declare: "While the scientist draws upon the fact and the case study, thus treating of the partial and the exceptional, the artist, dealing with the same material, by an imaginative process of selection and synthesis, presents a 'higher fact,' that truth which is universal and functional." Teachers of psychology and social psychology will find the book valuable, and the lay reader may become initiated in a thoroughly delightful way into the mysteries of personality.

M.J.V.

**FROM CAVE DWELLINGS TO MOUNT OLYMPUS.** By EDGAR L. HEWETT.  
Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1943, pp. 143.

The addresses that are included in this book constitute a partial mental autobiography. At least, they represent a part of the ripe fruit of several decades of experience and thought. They are a report on certain aspects of the "world pageant" as the author has seen it in his firsthand observations in different regions of the earth. They are "dissertations on man's striving that has brought him from the somber cavern to his present stage of enlightenment."

Each address is an essay on some phase of "the vast drama of life." Perhaps the one entitled "The Quest for Freedom" is the most important, for it carries the theme of all the others. In the universal urge for freedom is found the hope of the ultimate achievement of a democratic world and of the overthrow of totalitarianism. The first essay, on "What Is Man?" is the most impressive. The author concludes that man is the only being that can create and, in creating, can develop control over both heredity and environment. In "The Social Sciences in Higher Education" the proposal is made that "we might drop the idea of teaching or instructing, and think only of inquiring, correlating, laying facts on the table for study." As pointed out in the discussion of the place of research, "the ideal teacher is an explorer, a good scout, who says, 'If we don't know, we'll go and find out.'" In these words Dr. Hewett has summed up his own philosophy of life. He has aimed to be "simply a leader in the endless quest for the truth about things."

E.S.B.

## SOCIAL FICTION

**BLESSED ARE THE MEEK.** A Novel about St. Francis of Assisi. By ZOFIA KOSSAK. Translated by Rulka Langer. New York: Roy Publishers, 1944, pp. 375.

Zofia Kossak, famed Polish novelist, has written with forceful simplicity this impressive historical novel about St. Francis of Assisi. To it she has brought all those gifts of the great literary artist which make for memorable creations. Her picture of Francis is a real achievement. The story has been told many times before, but here it takes on a distinction that is nothing short of remarkable. Francis lives again in these pages.

The early part of the thirteenth century was a critical period. The Holy Sepulchre was in the hands of the Moslems, the Church was tainted with wealth and power, the great nobles were at one another's throats, striving for power and coveting vast lands. Pope Innocent III had been unable to crush the crass materialism that was slowly eating its way like a cancer into the greater glories of the religious and spiritual values of Christianity. In strange contrast to all this stood the figure of Francis—humble, devout, pure. Here was a man with rocklike faith, persistent in his attempt to show the world that gold, power, and lust were the chains binding man to slavery. Possessing nothing, Francis preached to his followers that they were free, free in that having followed Christ they had everything. How many times he had explained: "Were I to possess anything, I must likewise possess weapons to defend it. Had I a house I would have to surround it with a fence and cut myself off from my neighbors lest one of them might want to take my house away from me."

Not without a bit of humor is this tale of Francis. The novelist recounts how some nobles wishing to consult him found him in a Roman square bouncing up and down on a seesaw, enjoying himself with all the gay abandonment of a child. The nobles withdrew in disgust. Poor Francis sighed disconsolately, remarking ever so humbly, "I have done wrong. I have offended these great folks. It may be they really wanted to hear the words of our Lord." How Francis obtained the Pope's permission to found the order of the Brothers Minor, and how later, during his absence, his Order forsook the vows of absolute poverty and acquired power and wealth are brilliantly related. All of his work must be done again. Although the story is of another time, its message is vital for the present. Sorely needed are the simple men of devotion and faith to throw the candlelight of kindness on a world once again torn with greed and lust and power.

M.J.V.

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